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THE LA FOLLETTES have left the Republican Party. This news from Wisconsin must come to many of that party as a shock indeed. Ever since the senior Robert La Follette entered public life there has always been at least one of that family "boring from within," despite the fact that for years before his death the first Senator of the name was anathema to the Republican conservatives. Now his sons rightly feel that the time has come for a new party; that the Republican Party is utterly hopeless, without possibility of liberal leadership. As for the present Democratic administration in Wisconsin, that too is beyond defense. It has nothing to differentiate it from the reactionary Republicans. Under the circumstances the founding of the Wisconsin Progressive Party was absolutely dictated. It gives the only hope that Senator La Follette can be reelected next fall. It will support President Roosevelt, it is announced, in all his advanced measures, and if he falters and fails to put his Administration above big business, the Wisconsin Progressive Party can surely be counted on to bring pressure to bear for clear-cut and radical reforms. "No one can deny," Senator La Follette said in his address to the meeting at Fond du Lac on May 19 which took this historic step of cutting loose from the Republicans, "that the principal achievements of the present Administration had their origin in years of effort by progressives of both parties." True, and progressives in both parties ought to rally around the new banner at once. There is now plenty of evidence that we are witnessing the development of a third national party. The only question is how fast it will grow and how soon the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota and the new groups in other States can come together for joint action on a sound and far-reaching platform.

CONGRESS, it now seems certain, will recess within a few weeks without having enacted a single piece of labor legislation calculated to improve the status of the wage-earner under the New Deal. Senator Wagner's Labor Disputes Act, even in its innocuous revised form, still lies slumbering in the Senate Labor Committee. Federal unemployment insurance remains the vision of a small number of idealists. Federal old-age pensions and workmen's compensation are still ends to be achieved in the distant future. True, it has been intimated that the President will shortly transmit to Congress a message in which he will elaborate a broad scheme of labor reforms. But he will not ask for immediate action; he will merely recommend that Congress think over all the contemplated measures and be ready to consider them at the session beginning January, 1935. On paper, of course, labor has made substantial gains as a result of the enactment, since last summer, of more than 400 codes. But the labor provisions of the codes must remain largely unenforceable for the want both of a powerful trade-union movement and of a will to enforce on the part of the Administration. Even if the codes could be enforced, they would merely put a bottom under wage rates and a limit to the work week. They would do little to protect the wage-earner against the impact of the business cycle, the threat of economic old age, the hazards of the job to life and limb. The Administration, nevertheless, has seemingly staked everything on the hope that the codes will bring back good times to the factory and the mill, the mine and the store. As a result, after a year of the New Deal, our labor legislation is still primitive in character in comparison with countries like Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, Australia, and others, despite the fact that none of them has been blessed with a Recovery Act.

ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE we print an article by Karl Lore discussing the militant spirit among workers in the steel industry, that bristling barricade which the profit-makers have so triumphantly defended against the hopes and aspirations of the American labor movement. Mr. Lore, without editorializing in the least, simply declares that low wages and long hours have driven the rank and file of the workers to defy the union bureaucracy and the union weakness and indifference which have so long delayed a real organization of the industry. Surging forward far ahead of their leaders, the members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers at its recent annual conven-

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tion took the meeting into their own hands and voted that an ultimatum be presented to the industry at once which, if not met by June 15, would in all probability result in the calling of a general strike. All this is wholly admirable and commands the sympathetic attention of every worker in the country and of every person who, outside of a labor union himself, yet believes that only by its own firm strength and pertinacity may labor free itself from the bondage which the masters of industry have forced upon it. Yet there is another side of the story, and the hopeful militants in the steel unions must not fail to consider it.

THE NEWS SERVICE published monthly by the Labor Research Association points out in its issue for May that while the steel production rate rose from 48 per cent of capacity in March to 54 per cent in April and to 60 per cent during the second week in May, the current steel consumption rate is now about 50 per cent of capacity. A marked drop in production is indicated for June, and it is obvious that the rate will have fallen sharply by the end of the year. The spring output of motor cars has reached its peak. This is the first fact that the Amalgamated must remember. The second is that its roster of 30,000 dues-paying members represents less than one-tenth of the 350,000 to 400,000 workers employed in the industry. The third point can be illustrated by a quotation from *The Nation*.

> In the face of misrepresentation, injustice, intimidation, violence, and deliberate provocation to disorder, the men have for almost three months carried on an unsuccessful strike in a spirit of extraordinary self-restraint, patience, and regard for the law so wantonly violated by its sworn guardians. Yet despite the solidarity among workers of a dozen different nationalities and languages, the strike is gradually crumbling under the steady blows of a relentless industrial autocracy.

These words appeared in the issue of December 20, 1919, and the strike referred to was of course the steel strike which had commenced in September of that year. The "relentless industrial autocracy," tightly interlocked with the great financial interests of the country from the house of Morgan down, is as fully determined to protect its dividends as it was fourteen years ago. Wages paid per ton of steel produced in March are declared, by the research association mentioned above, to be the lowest in the history of the industry, except during the middle months of 1933. A recent study of fifty families of steel workers in Duquesne, Pennsylvania, disclosed that the total gross income for the families in 1933 was $18,853, which averages about $7.25 per family per week. Out of this total some $1,500 was deducted for insurance and for food boxes distributed as a sort of relief by the company. And at the end of the year the workers' debts, for groceries, rent, taxes, and the like, amounted to $46,255. In other words, the steel workers have every right to demand higher wages, shorter hours, union recognition, better working conditions. If they have the strength to force these demands now, more power to them! But strength—the strength of united thousands of determined workers—is needed as it was never needed before.

AFTER apparently much wabbling, as reflected in the contradictory Washington dispatches, the President seems to have capitulated completely to the silver bloc. He is now ready to accept a bill which has indeed some "permissive" clauses, but which in its crucial provision will be mandatory. Congress will "authorize and direct" the President to build up a silver monetary reserve of 25 per cent in relation to 75 per cent gold. Thus the policy of acquiring a huge amount of silver is made mandatory by Congress, and virtually all that is left to the President's discretion is the time. As we pointed out in our issue of May 16 in commenting upon this plan, there is no way in which the silver so acquired can serve as a substitute for an equal amount of gold reserve. The bill will simply compel the government to buy $25 worth of silver (carried at $1.29 an ounce) for every $75 worth of gold it already holds. At present this would mean the compulsory purchase of at least 1,300,000,000 ounces of silver, at a cost of at least $600,000,000 and more probably around $900,000,000. The government will be obliged, in other words, to spend an amount greater than the entire annual pre-war federal expenditures to acquire a metal for which it has not the slightest need. And the result, apart from this, will merely be to throw our monetary system into further chaos.

WHAT HAS BECOME of the Administration's promise to take up with the Cuban authorities the revision of the Permanent Treaty? President Roosevelt uttered it last November, and Secretary Hull reaffirmed it in December before the delegates of twenty-one American nations at Montevideo. Yet Congress is to adjourn shortly and the consent of the Senate is required for treaty-making. Of the wisdom of annulling the Platt Amendment there can no longer be any doubt. It has failed lamentably to benefit the Cuban people, and while it has served a few of our capitalists, it has proved detrimental to the interests of Americans in general. As investors in Cuba, under its fancied protection, they have lost their savings; as manufacturers or farmers or workers in export industries they have seen our once rich Cuban market vanish. But apart from these long-distance considerations, prompt action in regard to Cuba is imperative. As a result of the arbitrary policy of Sumner Welles, anti-American feeling in Cuba has mounted rapidly, despite the Administration's good intentions and the benefits that should accrue to Cuba from the Jones-Costigan Act. The great ovation accorded Ramon Grau San Martin after his four months' absence from his country emphasizes the fact which, however unpalatable, our State Department cannot ignore, that he has increased enormously in popularity because of its unrelenting discrimination against him. Had it recognized him, his brief interim presidential term would by now have expired. Instead, he appears almost certain to be the overwhelming choice of the Cuban people for a full term. Meanwhile Cuba's stability hangs perilously in the balance, and the tension and bitterness there impede the necessarily joint effort at economic reconstruction and the delicate task of discharging our political commitments. Prompt steps looking toward cancelation of the Platt Amendment would go far to undo our blundering of the past year.

NEARLY FORTY MILLION DOLLARS has at last been allocated to the City of New York by the Federal Relief Administration for public works, as a result of the budget-balancing operations conducted by Mayor LaGuardia and his staff since January 1. By means of a certain amount

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of administrative reorganization, a certain number of salary reductions, furloughs without pay for city employees, and a number of additional taxes on business, the city budget has nominally been balanced. We say nominally, because not only has the balance been effected at the expense of a large group of fairly low-salaried workers, but the New York relief problem, increasing instead of decreasing with the advance of the summer months, has reached a point where it may well cause the city administration the gravest concern. William Hodson, Commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare, announced on May 16 that lack of funds to care for them would necessitate dropping 10,000 persons now on relief rolls in the city. There are at present 155,000 on home relief in New York. Of the 30,000 CWA workers passed on to the city at the close of the Civil Works program in April, from 8,000 to 10,000 have been reemployed. The $37,500,000 just granted by the federal Public Works Administration will provide jobs for an additional 7,500 men, but this will by no means meet the needs of the city's indigent and helpless unemployed. Mayor LaGuardia has the cruel necessity of facing and solving this problem during the next four months, for if families without work can somehow manage to exist in warm weather, when winter comes they become an imperative and immediate charge on the community.

TWO MORE European countries have gone fascist. Through a quiet coup on May 16 the Republic of Latvia passed from the rule of a parliament dominated by Social Democrats into that of a dictatorship controlled by wealthy landowners cooperating with fascist organizations. The official reasons given for the seizure of power and the manner in which it was carried out follow the Hitler formula, which grows more efficient with use. The government, it seems, discovered plans for a Socialist uprising; observing growing discontent it declared martial law for the safety of the people, or as one communique put it, "to forestall unrest." To render the people even more safe newspapers were put under a censorship and alcoholic beverages prohibited for two days. Government buildings, including the parliament building, were occupied by troops. Socialist headquarters were surrounded and the red flag was removed; several Socialist leaders were arrested, including Dr. Paul Kalnin, Speaker of Parliament; and the dullest boy in the class will now tell us what were alleged to have been found stacked in Dr. Kalnin's villa.

THREE DAYS LATER, without disorder of any sort, the Bulgarian army established a dictatorship in that country, announced a program of reorganization, and named a Cabinet of seven ministers, all with the consent, if not with the connivance, of King Boris. A satirical note is contributed by the declaration that there will be no more municipal elections since they have been a "source of embarrassment to the government recently because of the huge Communist vote." This is described as the "general collapse of the democratic regime." Johannes Steel, in *The Nation* of March 21, described the Nazi dreams of a self-contained empire stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic: "Nazi propagandists are working day and night in Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia. . . . The Nazis hope, and not without reason, that this propaganda, in conjunction with the ever-increasing outside pressure, will eventually lead, if not to actual coordination, at least to a coordination of aims." These same propagandists are extending their operations to the troubled Balkans. The most disheartening note in both episodes is that apparently no resistance was offered to the fascist seizures.

SALARIES UNPAID, credit exhausted after much borrowing, insufficient food, and lack of clothing—these reports have come from various groups and millions of individuals of late. But the latest group whose misery has been forcibly called to the attention of press and public is not unemployed, nor driven to the wall by long months of chaotic economic conditions at home. These unfortunates are employees of the United States government in the consular and diplomatic services who have been reduced to starvation and want because their pay from the United States has been reduced more than 50 per cent during the last few months by our government's experimentation with its currency. The Consul General in Switzerland has notified the State Department that banks will not lend another cent to these employees, who cannot adequately feed their children or buy them shoes with which to go to school. Our Ambassador in Paris, Jesse I. Straus, has sent a blunt and outspoken cablegram demanding immediate action by the government. He speaks of the "great suffering" in his own embassy, and demands the "immediate cutting of red tape" so that these officials shall not actually starve under the American flag. Not only has the drop in the exchange worth of the American dollar affected them; they have also had their salaries cut under the economy bills. The McReynolds bill for the equalization of pay of members of the consular and diplomatic services on the basis of the dollar's exchange value has been passed by both houses of Congress, but has been hung up in conference. What are foreigners to think of a government which cares so little for the well-being of faithful and devoted public servants?

WHILE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, in signing the anti-crime bills which have just been rushed through Congress, was calling for a nation-wide war on crime, California was giving a convincing demonstration of what can be done under existing laws when there is a real disposition to enforce them. Less than a week after William F. Gettle was kidnapped from his Beverly Hills home and only slightly more than twenty-four hours after he had been rescued, the three men charged with the crime were ready to begin serving the life sentences imposed upon them. Some of the new federal crime bills—particularly that making it possible to use federal officers in the pursuit of kidnappers—may prove to be wise pieces of legislation, but there is nothing wise about the familiar state of mind which leads Americans into a hysterical fit of lawmaking whenever they are shocked by a spectacular crime. It seems hardly worth while to insist again that what we need most is adequate enforcement of the laws we already have, but the outcome of the Gettle case is an admirable illustration of the fact that inadequate laws are not responsible for the prevalence of crime. If all criminals were apprehended as swiftly, and punished as expeditiously, we should have little need of new laws against anything. We should also remove the only argument which anyone can possibly urge in defense of lynching. Even Governor Rolfe must recognize that the lesson just given in the courts of his State is more salutary than the lesson taught by any mob.

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Bombs Bursting in Air

MR. DARROW'S bomb, bursting in the overcharged air of Washington, has precipitated one of the finest—and most important—political rows of the present Administration. If the technique of controversy seems a little juvenile—the I-am-not-you-are-so style of oratory being chiefly employed—that fact must not be allowed to distract our attention from the central issue at stake.

It is certain that Mr. Darrow and his committee have not presented an exhaustive, dispassionate analysis of the NRA. It is almost equally certain that they were not expected to do so and that they cannot be fairly attacked for their failure to examine and appraise the several hundred existing codes. If President Roosevelt had wanted a job of this sort done he would not have asked Mr. Darrow to do it. He would instead have turned to some such body as the Brookings Institution, which for many months has been conducting a survey of the workings of the Recovery Administration in all its intricacies. Or he would have asked the Federal Trade Commission to report on the operations of the major codes as they relate to the independent or small business man in the same detail in which it lately examined the steel code. Or he might have asked the Research and Planning Division of the NRA itself—under the able direction of Leon Henderson—to tackle such a job. But he did none of these things. He invited Mr. Darrow and a committee of a few other unofficial citizens to investigate complaints by small enterprises that they have been subjected to undue hardships by the operation of the codes. It was the announced intention that the recommendations of the board would be used for the guidance of the Administrator in the modification of code policies.

This was the intention. But what has been the result? The Darrow board based its conclusions on material assembled rather hastily, in the course of a few hearings at which complaints were received and afterward sifted and considered. The report is a compound of findings, recommendations, and general opinions. It has been repudiated with explosive violence by the NRA in all its interested branches, and one may therefore assert—as many public men and newspapers are asserting—that it has failed of its purpose. With this contention we flatly disagree. The report may be inadequate in its handling of facts, but it represents the reasoned opinion of intelligent men against whom can be leveled no charge of political partisanship or social bias. It should be examined on the merits of its views. Even John F. Sinclair, who resigned his membership rather than be associated with a statement which he considered ill-considered and hasty, has announced his belief that from 10 to 20 per cent of the complaints heard are of basic importance and would justify the appointment of a permanent quasi-judicial board to examine the effects of the major codes.

We do not ask a detached scrutiny of the report by General Johnson. He is a dogmatic man, the temperamental opposite of Clarence Darrow; and he has his reputation and his work to defend. Nor do we ask it of Donald Richberg, who is a lawyer and, in this case, the counsel for the defense. But we do ask it of the President. Mr. Roosevelt is pledged to a position of dispassionate judgment, of devotion to the single end of industrial and social recovery, and, by his own assertion, to a policy of free experimentation. To try, to evaluate, to reconsider, and then if necessary to do something different—this is Mr. Roosevelt's obligation. He should approach Mr. Darrow's report with no defensive attitude. It is not enough to meet attack with counter-attack, to prove that certain facts are incorrect or that a particular criticism is unfounded, to characterize general opinion as "prejudiced" and "ignorant" and "intemperate." The task of rebuttal may be left to the fiery General and his deft counsel. Let Mr. Roosevelt go rather to the heart of the matter in debate. What lies back of the complaints, the charges, the angry retorts? Is it or is it not true that the tendency of business under the most important codes is toward a greater and greater degree of monopoly control? Is it or is it not true that industrial cartels are in process of formation, controlled by boards representing the dominant units in each industry, with government representatives sitting in, if at all, as non-voting observers, outsiders without authority and, indeed, without even the technical knowledge and ability to exercise authority if they had it? Is it, in fact, true or is it not true that "monopoly sustained by government" is "clearly the trend in the National Recovery Administration"?

On another page of this issue we publish a document which more positively presents many of the very issues which the Darrow report has brought into the open. Submitted to the President by a group of liberals who were disturbed by an apparent shift in Adminstrative policy away from the principles that had been proclaimed, this statement urges Mr. Roosevelt to resist all contrary pressures and to move steadily toward greater social control and more resolute limitation of the power of big business. Mr. Darrow demands the same thing. In his supplementary report he urges that "only by the fullest use of productive capacity for the raising of standards of living of individuals in the community can a steady balance be achieved in an age of abundance." To this end he demands a planned economy based upon "socialized ownership and control, since only by collective ownership can the inevitable conflict of separately owned units for the market be eliminated in favor of planned production." With this conclusion we agree. The majority of Mr. Darrow's board apparently does not, since the supplementary report was signed only by the chairman and his friend, William O. Thompson. But it is this conclusion, rather than the more detailed recommendations contained in the main report, that we commend to the thoughtful attention of President Roosevelt. Does he really believe, after a year of trial, that either full recovery or any generous measure of industrial democracy can be expected to emerge from codes administered by business boards and from a Recovery Administration run chiefly by business representatives? If he does, it may be that the Darrow report will prove the agency to inject into his mind that germ of skepticism so necessary to serious political thought; it will then have justified its existence no matter how many political explosions may follow in its wake.

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The Munitions Message

THE President's message to Congress on the munitions question deserves high praise. It is a great advance to have an American President going on record as declaring that "the private and uncontrolled manufacture of arms and munitions and the traffic therein has become a serious source of international discord and strife." It is stimulating, also, to have him indorse heartily the Senate's appointment of the Nye committee to investigate every angle of this foul business within our country, and assure the Senate that he will order the executive departments to "cooperate with the committee to the fullest extent." The President, in addition, urged the Senate to ratify promptly the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War signed at Geneva June 17, 1925, and long hanging fire in the Foreign Relations Committee. Ratification, the President rightly says, "would be a concrete indication of the willingness of the American people to make their contribution toward the suppression of abuses which may have disastrous results for the entire world if they are permitted to continue unchecked."

But Mr. Roosevelt is not satisfied with that; he wants, with the reassembling of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva on May 29, a new treaty drawn, "much more far-reaching" than that of 1925. "The people of many countries," he correctly declares, "are being taxed to the point of poverty and starvation in order to enable governments to engage in a mad race in armament, which, if continued, may well result in war"; and he attributes this danger in no small measure to the "uncontrolled activities of the manufacturers and merchants of engines of destruction." We admit that the President is somewhat inconsistent; that he is open to the charge of being on both sides of the fence. He has allotted some $238,000,000 of PWA funds for the construction of thirty-one naval vessels, and he has signed the Vinson bill which gives him the power to initiate a naval building program to cost the country one billion dollars. That is not the way to lead in disarmament, nor to convince the rest of the world of the sincerity of our disarmament intentions. It is the way to strengthen the most dangerous lobby in Washington, which is maintained by the army, the navy, the munitions manufacturers, and the shipbuilders. The $238,000,000 will go directly into the pockets of those same shipbuilders who sent William B. Shearer, that admitted lobbyist and alleged naval expert, to Geneva for the express purpose of endeavoring to destroy the Disarmament Conference and thwart the policy of his government.

But the President has precedent in urging the Congress to ratify the Armaments Convention of 1925, just as he has diplomatic precedent for joining Great Britain and the League in putting an end to the senseless Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay. At least we have ourselves acted under the joint resolution of Congress of January 31, 1922, forbidding our citizens, in March, 1929, to supply arms to the rebels in Mexico; and under the treaty of April 30, 1930, with twenty Latin American Republics we laid an embargo against the rebels in Brazil. Secretary Stimson, referring to the latter treaty, declared that "between its signatories it rendered compulsory the policy of protecting our Latin American sister republics against the traffic in arms and war material carried on by our nationals. . . ." It is true it was an anti-revolution policy which led to this treaty, but it is surely but a short step from that to a policy applicable to such a situation as the Chaco war, especially as this would not involve the dangerous action of taking sides. In the larger field, both Presidents Coolidge and Hoover have urged the ratification of the Geneva Convention of 1925. More than that, Mr. Burton of Ohio introduced on December 5, 1927, a bill proposing an embargo in war time on all war materials, which was favorably reported by the House Foreign Affairs Committee but never passed.

The President will be lucky if he can compel his own subordinates to take his point of view both on international control of armaments and on the embargo proposals. For the Burton bill was successfully sabotaged in 1928 by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, their military and naval aides, a representative of the Chemical Foundation (summoned by the Speaker of the House), and other persons. The argument is that if you do not allow American private manufacturers to sell munitions to other countries, they will not have the equipment necessary when we get into another war. As the authors of "Merchants of Death" have pointed out, "the significance of all this lies in the fact that government department heads led the defense of the private arms maker, and of his right to unrestricted international sale 'in the interest of national defense.'" These authors feel that there is very little hope indeed of thoroughgoing international control of armaments if only because of the extraordinary difficulty, under modern conditions, of defining what constitutes munitions or materials for potential munitions. None the less, the difficulty of the task should be the greater challenge to our own government. During the war Lloyd George promised a delegation of British miners that he would call for a government monopoly of all arms and munitions making as soon as the war ended. He did nothing of the kind. But surely this is the right direction in which to move.

Governor Pinchot and Senator Reed

THE Republican Old Guard is sitting up in bed again as a result of the Pennsylvania primary election on May 15 in which Senator David Aiken Reed defeated Governor Pinchot for the Republican Senatorial nomination. The Reed victory is being hailed as the first major political setback for the Roosevelt Administration, not counting the New York mayoralty election last year. This is because Senator Reed frankly ran on an anti-New Deal platform, promising instead a nebulous "square deal," while Governor Pinchot just as definitely supported the Roosevelt program, despite his nominal position as a Republican. But at the same time the new Pennsylvania Democrats successfully nominated their candidate, Joseph F. Guffey, chief Roosevelt patronage dispenser in Philadelphia, on a New Deal ticket. As is pointed out by the Philadelphia *Record*, which is inclined to support the President, the New Deal votes on both sides outweigh the opposition. The *Record*

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sees in the election merely a proof that the Republican Party is still conservative and the Democratic Party liberal.

But that is only one of the dozen ways in which the returns can be analyzed. Senator Reed won by a plurality of 104,000, of which 91,000 came from Philadelphia, the stronghold of the Pinchot-hating Republican Old Guard. The Reed vote was approximately 587,000 to Pinchot's 483,000. But the important thing is not the number of persons who voted for Reed or Pinchot, it is the number who did not think it worth while to vote at all. More than 50 per cent of the total registered electorate of both parties failed to go to the polls, and in this respect the Democrats were far more remiss than the Republicans. Since nearly 2,000,000 Republicans have registered as such, and only 1,070,000 voted, the stay-at-homes, it will be seen, have the balance of power in the November election. And since the revived Mellon-Grundy-Vare machine which backed the Senator used every effort to bring out the organized vote, and did so, it is fair to conclude that those who did not vote are inclined either to Governor Pinchot or to a split ticket in the fall.

The Guffey Democrats consider it their duty to make a test at the election of the issue of New Deal Democracy versus Old Guard Republicanism. Mr. Guffey defeated Roland S. Morris, former Ambassador to Japan, for the nomination by 396,000 votes to 98,000, so that the combined Democratic vote is less than half the combined Republican vote. Mr. Guffey is said to have informed the President, after being notified of his nomination, that he expected Governor Pinchot to step aside, and in addition that he (Guffey) was entitled to the so-called New Deal vote of the Republicans. But considering the sizable vote polled by the Governor—proportionately more than in 1926 when he ran against Boss Vare and George Wharton Pepper—and the additional vote he can expect, he has everything to gain and nothing to lose by running again in the fall as an independent, and there is every indication that he will do so.

The best hope of the Reed forces, in case the Governor decides to run, is that by November the national Administration will be in considerably greater disfavor than at present, but even this is not much to clutch at, for to a great extent the Pinchot vote was a personal one and need not be expected to decline. On four previous occasions when he has been a candidate (twice for Governor, twice for the party Senatorial nomination) Mr. Pinchot has been steam-rollered in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, where the machine is strongest, and has run handsomely in the rural, mountain, and mining counties. In this primary he lagged far behind his usual upstate figures, though 52,000 changed votes would have turned the tide. This was because the shrewd Democrats got the labor vote by nominating Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America—which dominates the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor—for Lieutenant-Governor, on the premise that as head of the State Senate he could advance labor legislation which has hitherto been killed. But there is nothing to prevent labor from voting for Kennedy for Lieutenant-Governor and Pinchot for Senator in the fall, particularly as Guffey has made a bad mess of such Administration selling-points as the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the CWA in the State. Despite the Pollyana optimism of the Republicans that this is the turning-point, the Pennsylvania primary was not a true test of the popularity of the New Deal.

Meet the Author

IN Hollywood they save unnecessary wear and tear on fragile actors by employing "stand-ups" to pose while the lights are being adjusted and "doubles" to fall downstairs, leap from aeroplanes, or perform other hazardous feats in which it seems unwise to risk a really valuable man. After some years of experience with literary teas, honorary dinners, and even private parties it occurs to us that it would be wise of publishers to adopt the same system with distinguished authors who ought to be at their desks turning out salable copy instead of discussing the weather with literary editors or making speeches on subjects they know nothing about. We look with suspicion on any writer who really likes to do that sort of thing, and the public would hardly know the difference since it has long ago learned not to expect words of wisdom and to content itself with no more than a good look at the celebrity in the flesh. Obviously this good look should be made as rewarding as possible, and there are hundreds of men who never wrote a publishable line but look a great deal more like writers than do some of our most prolific littérateurs. Any enterprising costumer would be glad to supply outfits appropriate to poets, revolutionists, or stuffed shirts.

Various reasons have been assigned for the dulness of brilliant authors, and disgruntled hero-worshipers sometimes suspect that they bore on purpose, making mental notes of the penetrating remarks which must be occurring to them and later using these unuttered sallies in print instead of wasting good stuff on a single, non-paying ear. We ourselves have sometimes come away from a private conversation with a distinguished writer wondering if his books can really be as good as we thought them, but we have generally found that they were, and are driven to the conclusion that a man's works afford no basis for judging what the whole of his self is like. Indeed, we have come to believe that a writer usually differs from his fellows not in being more intelligent or witty or profound but only in possessing a peculiar ability to isolate from the rest of himself that small part which happens to be interesting. Perhaps even the dullest of our friends may have an essay or two in them if they could only separate it and then keep quiet for the rest of their lives.

It is not merely that your good writer is often not *like* his books: that the pessimist is gay, the wit grumpy, the fluent stylist inclined to monosyllables, and the purveyor of sweetness a hardened cynic. That fact is well known and even piquant. The really disturbing thing is that he often seems plain stupid. We have known persons who not only looked but also talked and acted as if they could write good books, yet were doomed either to remain mute Miltons or to make everyone wish that they had remained so. On the other hand, we have known unpromising fellows who, against all apparent possibility, secreted highly valuable works from deeply hidden sources. If we have known them before the event we have been inclined to cry "Miracle!" when the event occurred. When we have met them only afterward we have been inclined to say: "Whatever of intelligence or vivacity or acuteness the man may once have had, he has obviously put all of it into his writing. The rest of him is pure fool."

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Issues and Men

Words and Houses: Will Action Come?

THESE are fine and brave words of President Roosevelt in his message to Congress asking for $300,000,000 for home rehabilitation and construction: "Many of our homes are in decadent condition and *not fit for human habitation.*" This sounds more like a sentence lifted from an editorial in *The Nation* than an utterance of an American President. Most of our recent Presidents, certainly all since Woodrow Wilson, would have thought themselves bound not to tell the naked truth about such a condition as this, but to stress the fact that the laborer's standard of living was higher in the United States than anywhere else, that there was a chicken in every pot, and that the two-car garage for everybody was just around the corner. We are fortunate, indeed, to have a President who is not afraid to dwell on a bad condition, or to call it by its right name. That gives the best possible promise that some of our evil conditions will be brought to the attention of all the people and so rectified.

My mind jumped as I read those words "not fit for human habitation." In years of wandering I have seen those "homes" all over the United States—on the edges of deserts and Bad Lands, in the mining camps and coal districts, in the slums of our great cities, chockablock with some of the finest dwellings. I have studied them in back alleys in Philadelphia, hidden well behind charming post-Revolutionary façades. I have beheld them in the North End of Boston, in the pre-earthquake San Francisco, and none worse than right here in the city of New York, where there are still more than 100,000 inhabitated rooms without a window that looks on anything but an airshaft. I cannot forget those shacks, miscalled homes, in which the millions of poor whites and Negroes live in the South—shacks devoid of a single comfort or convenience, with corn growing to the tottering doorway, without flower, or fruit, or even a shade tree to hide the horrible barrenness, the bodily and mental destitution of the Americans—with their "highest standard of living"—dwelling miserably within, under conditions European peasants would not tolerate. The existence of these dwellings alone has challenged our smug satisfaction, given the lie to our assumed superiority to all the rest of the world, and made a mockery of our assertion that ours is the best, the most progressive, and the most beneficent of governments. "Many of our homes . . . not fit for human habitation"? Millions, Mr. President, millions of them.

But this $300,000,000 is only a small fraction of what is needed. Probably the request is only an opening gun; indeed, the dailies have for some time been carrying the story that the President would ask for a $1,500,000,000 appropriation to begin the work of nation-wide housing reconstruction. There are to be federal long-term loans at low interest rates, to a maximum of $2,000, for the modernization or improvement of all types of property, but with primary emphasis on homes. There is to be a federal guaranty of new mortgages on existing homes up to 60 per cent of "currently appraised value," and a federal guaranty of mortgages on newly completed homes up to 80 per cent of the appraised value. Finally, there is to be private organization, under federal supervision, of mortgage associations which are to provide low-cost long-term financing to home owners and builders, and the insurance of shares and certificates of sound building-and-loan associations. Those are all desirable things, much to be applauded. But they leave the major problem untouched. The fact remains that under the NRA precious little headway has been made in far-reaching new construction of cheap and modern workers' homes. I have already referred to the fact that there is something wrong with the present housing administration under the Department of the Interior. I have not tried to assess the blame; I only record the fact. I have heard it officially stated that, incredible as it appears, only 25,000 single dwellings were built in the entire continental United States during 1933. That shows that we are not only not growing, but that we are very far from keeping up with normal replacements of homes that are being worn out. Nothing would help the actual recovery program more just now, especially when the NRA is breaking down at so many points, than to revive the housing industry. Its ramifications are tremendous. It would be the first major industry for capital goods to come back.

We are, of course, not alone in the need of home construction. The British government has built since the war, in connection with local authorities, no less than a million homes. Some can be found in about every town in England and Scotland, but this number is totally inadequate. Herbert Morrison, the leader of the new Labor majority in the London County Council, has announced that 100,000 structurally separate homes will be built at once, and slums done away with in every direction. It is authoritatively stated that within London are 150,000 people living more than three to a room, and 1,200,000 living more than one and a half to a room; in all some 165,000 houses are needed at once. But even at that the English people have none of those dreadful shacks which we, in the South and West, call homes. They have a powerful Labor Party more than ever bent on correcting these conditions. We have many city planners, social workers, health authorities, and public-spirited citizens eager to aid in destroying every last dwelling that is unfit for human habitation. But the only leadership that we have is that which comes from the White House. The Congress has steadily declined to concern itself with this nation-wide problem. It has been "outside of its field"; it was something for the States and the local authorities to attend to. Well, we know the outcome, and we know now that we have the first real hope of a national leadership in removing what the President would be justified in characterizing as a disgrace to the American flag. His words are of the best. Now shall we see rapid and efficient action?

Oswald Garrison Villard

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A Cartoon by LOW

THE "OPEN DOOR" POLICY IN CHINA.

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The Darrow Report

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, May 19

THE operation which Donald Richberg and his NRA associates performed on the Darrow report should serve in the future as a warning against the perils of over-advertising. No document since the Wickersham report had received so much advance publicity; none turned into such an effective boomerang. The melancholy truth is that Richberg has done to Darrow almost precisely what Darrow did to William Jennings Bryan in the celebrated Tennessee monkey trial. That he did it with great sorrow and reluctance does not change the fact. The real picture of what occurred is not a pretty one, but I intend here to paint it in its true colors. Clarence Darrow has been a very great man. In his prime he possessed one of the most powerful intellects it has ever been my privilege to observe in action, and I was proud to have his friendship. He is now seventy-seven years old, and for several years has been in feeble health. In this matter certain individuals, not exactly bowed down with scruples, used Darrow's name and reputation in an effort to achieve their own selfish ends. It was a shameful thing to do and I devoutly trust that the public will recognize and reward them as they deserve.

* * * * *

THE report itself is a comic document, and suggests the Darrow of old about as much as the operations of a corn doctor suggest those of Harvey Cushing or Walter Dandy. I was present in Dayton, Tennessee, when Darrow placed Bryan on the witness stand, made him an international laughing-stock, and broke his pride and his heart. In order to maintain the State's position in the case, Bryan was bound to contend that every line in the Bible must be interpreted literally. Darrow read the passage which states that "every living thing" not taken on the ark with Noah was drowned in the flood, and asked Bryan if he believed that to be the literal truth. The Commoner avowed that he did. "What about the fishes?" Darrow grated. Mopping his fevered brow Bryan shouted in desperation that he believed the fishes were drowned, too, while the press benches roared and the rural clergy looked on with stricken faces. Reading again, Darrow asked the tortured Bryan if he believed that snakes crawl on their bellies because of the curse pronounced on the serpent which tempted Eve. Poor Bryan gasped that he did so believe. "How do you suppose snakes got around before that?" Darrow asked. If there was any reply I have forgotten it. To suppose that the same man who ground Bryan's face into the red Tennessee clay is the author of this report is impossible. For example, on page twenty-four of the report we find this statement: "All competition is savage, wolfish, and relentless; and can be nothing else. One may as well dream of making war ladylike as of making competition fair." Yet on page sixty-seven the following appears: "A return to the anti-trust laws for the purpose of restoring competition, we believe to be one of the great needs of the times." It hardly seems credible, but there it is. Finally in a supplemental report signed by Darrow and W. O. Thompson we find the following: "The choice is between monopoly sustained by government . . . and a planned economy which demands socialized ownership and control." In short, the reports successively contend that competition cannot be regulated, that it can be regulated, and that the only choice is between government-sustained monopoly and communism!

* * * * *

ASIDE from the ludicrous inconsistencies of the report, it is full of the most glaring inaccuracies. This was inevitable, considering the farcically partisan manner in which the board conducted its proceedings. Indeed, before a single witness was heard, one member is reported to have declared that it would "blow the NRA out of the water inside of six weeks." In the hearings on the motion-picture code, it declined to receive briefs submitted by the large companies, although it had expressly promised to do so. Its unsupported insinuations against Deputy Administrator Sol Rosenblatt in connection with this code constitute one of the shabbiest phases of the report, and justify the savagery with which Rosenblatt tore it to pieces in his reply. There is not space here to mention one-half of one per cent of the gross absurdities and misstatements. The board was created ostensibly to protect "the little fellow." It found that many "small enterprises" were being oppressed, one of them being the Goodyear Rubber Company! Under the steel code the board found that out of 15,000 votes in the industry 4,362 would be cast by the Steel Corporation. As a matter of fact, it could easily have ascertained from the official record that the number cast by the corporation and its subsidiaries is 1,332. If the board's calculation were correct, the value of that corporation's annual output would be more than $2,000,000,000. The actual figure for last year was $167,500,000. The board was created originally in response to complaints and demands which were not made in good faith. It has succeeded only in bringing ridicule and humiliation upon one of the most lovable characters of contemporary American life. Johnson is right—the board should be abolished.

* * * * *

IF the House accords the consideration which it deserves to a report presented this week by a judiciary subcommittee, we shall soon enjoy the gratifying and unprecedented spectacle of three federal judges being simultaneously impeached. I can think of nothing at the moment that would have a more wholesome effect. The favoritism and corruption which exist in the federal courts, especially in connection with bankruptcy and receivership cases, have become a national disgrace, and I know of no quicker way to end it than by stripping a few jurists of their robes. The magistrates involved in this instance are Wilkerson and Woodward of the Northern District of Illinois, and Lindley of the Eastern District in the same State. I trust it will be recalled that Herbert Hoover attempted to place Wilkerson on the Circuit Court of Appeals, apparently as a step in promoting him

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to the Supreme Court. The subcommittee made an exhaustive investigation of the handling of bankruptcies and receiverships in these three courts, and the facts reported by it can only be described as shocking. Rank favoritism in the appointment of receivers and attorneys, gross disregard for the property rights of creditors and stockholders, and a callous indifference to the ordinary proprieties of procedure fairly shout from every page of the long report. In the case of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad alone, Wilkerson allowed fees and expenses in excess of $2,400,000, which —believe it or not—was raised by assessing the stockholders $4 each. Voluminous evidence is presented tending to show that Lindley's handling of the Insull receiverships was calculated to favor Insull and certain Chicago banks. Judge Woodward ascended the bench in 1929. Immediately the law firm by which his young son was employed began to receive lucrative appointments in receivership cases from Judge Woodward. In the following year his son's compensation was increased from $2,400 a year to $13,000 plus 40 per cent of all the business brought in by him. The foregoing are but samples. I cannot improve upon the following language which appears in the report: "Our investigation discloses a condition in Chicago that amounts almost to criminal negligence in the failure on the part of the courts to properly conserve the property in litigation, and in some instances an apparent willing assent to the plundering and sacking of the estates committed to the care and custody of these courts. . . . Receivership and bankruptcy matters have degenerated into nothing more or less than a pure and simple racket, which should be stopped by Congressional legislation and Congressional action." There is only one thing, in my opinion, that can save these judges from impeachment. That is the House's reaction to what Representative Hatton Sumners drily described as "the low standard of judicial conduct which the Senate approved in the case of Judge Lauderback of California." A substantial majority of the Senate voted to convict Lauderback, but the required two-thirds was lacking. Lauderback announced himself "exonerated," and did not resign. Judges, it seems, are chosen for other qualities than their sensitivities.

Dynamite in the Steel Unions

By KARL LORE

THERE is a restlessness in the ranks of labor in the great basic industries. The widespread organization movement of the automobile workers threatening a general strike, warnings of national stoppages in the mens' clothing, textiles, and oil industries are unmistakable indications of a new mood among the workers. Now it is the steel industry, the backbone of our industrial life, which faces a showdown. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, the American Federation of Labor affiliate in the steel industry, has been holding its annual convention in Pittsburgh. For two weeks 225 delegates from the mills thrashed out the immediate union program. From that convention has gone the order to all local lodges to prepare for country-wide strike action should the steel industry refuse to recognize the Amalgamated Association.

This was in many respects the most remarkable labor gathering that has been held in years. Not only did it show clearly the fighting mood among the workers, but it was the first instance in a long time in which a progressive rank-and-file group dominated a convention of an A. F. of L. union in one of the great industries, defeating the administration on every basic issue and planning a program of strike action nation-wide in its scope.

It was in 1892 in the historic Homestead strike that Andrew Carnegie broke the hold of the Amalgamated on the industry. Since then, with the exception of the period during and immediately after the great steel strike of 1919, the Amalgamated has existed only on the fringe of the industry with no influence among the mass of the workers. Its leadership lost the courage and the will to organize. A steady decline after 1919 left it in 1932 with a membership of about 5,000 in an industry employing half a million men. Organizational morale was low, many of the members staying in the ranks only because of the insurance benefits which the union had established for its members.

Theoretically its structure and jurisdiction were industrial. The constitution provided membership for all "working in and around rolling mills, tin mills, steel works, chain works, nail, tack, spike, bolt, and nut factories, pipe mills, and all works run in connection with same." In practice, however, it was content to hold on to a steadily diminishing group of the skilled workers in the sheet mills and the wrought-iron furnaces. It saw technical developments and economic whirlwinds slash one craft after another from its ranks without realizing the consequences or learning the lesson. Both the sheet-mill men and the wrought-iron puddlers were confronted with tremendous changes. Automatic sheet-mill rolling displaced a large number of the skilled men in that branch of the industry. Wrought iron became obsolete in an age of steel, and chemical processes accomplished more quickly and cheaply the work that the puddler used to do in the red glare of the furnace mouth. Such reliance on a narrow craft base in an era of vast technological change was disastrous. The A. A. seemed to be on its deathbed.

The National Industrial Recovery Act with its Section 7-a broke in upon this situation. For a time the union lacked strength to take advantage of the proffered opportunity. When it finally did launch a widespread campaign, the steel kings had had time to consolidate their forces. A powerful anti-union front was formed under the leadership of the United States Steel Corporation. Company unions were organized and those already in existence were altered to meet the changed conditions. But the workers wanted action and the A. A. organizers in every steel region enrolled thousands of members. Many communities heard the union message for the first time. In city after city parades and meetings were held where they had never been permitted before. At Weirton, West Virginia, and at Clairton, Pennsylvania, the workers struck. When the city council of Fairfield, Alabama, tried to prevent organization in the plants of the Ten-

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nessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company, a United States Steel subsidiary, by prohibiting joint meetings of Negro and white workers, the A. A. defied the ordinance, called an organization meeting, and signed up 2,000 members. In Newport, Kentucky, the Newport Rolling Mills, which had fought the union to a standstill in 1922, were forced to give in when a strike closed down the mills.

Thus the foundations were laid for a strong union. At present every major steel plant of the country is said to have a local. Even the larger United States Steel mills have substantial units. In the Sixth District, which includes important steel centers in Ohio and Michigan, the number of locals has increased from twenty-four to sixty-four. These new lodges, moreover, have been built on an industrial basis, taking in blast furnaces and open hearth, coke plant and other divisions of steel manufacture. The new organization that has risen out of the ashes is totally different from the old. The 95 local lodges that composed the Amalgamated Association before the NRA union drive have been overshadowed by the addition of 137 new lodges in the great plants of the industry, which the union had never before been able to touch.

It was reported to the convention that the dues-paying membership of the A. A. stood at 30,000, six times its strength of a year ago. Thousands more hold membership cards and have paid their initiation fee but are holding back on dues payment until they see that the union really means business. This suspicion and doubt among the workers is the bitter price that the Amalgamated must pay for its years of inaction and for its unsavory record in the 1919 strike.

Many of the delegates who gathered for the convention came from mills which had imposed company unions on their employees. United States Steel had held a shotgun election to establish them in its plants. The delegation from Weirton was decidedly sour on the New Deal. In January General Hugh Johnson had promised Mike Tighe, international president of the Amalgamated, that "the Weirton case will get definite action in a few days," but months had passed with only half-hearted attempts to make the company fulfil its obligations under the NRA. Now that same company has been awarded a government contract.

Nor were they all satisfied with the state of affairs in the union itself. "The age of the hoop skirt is past," said the younger delegates, who knew that the year ahead would in all probability make or break the union. They came from mills which still refused to recognize the union as the instrument for collective bargaining. They realized that the issue would have to be pushed by a strong organization working under the direction of a courageous and clear-headed leadership.

There have always been elements in the Amalgamated that opposed the official policy and worked for a more vigorous and effective program. At its last convention Elmer Cope, militant in the union, had been expelled for his progressive policies and for his connection with the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The progressives had been hopelessly in the minority. This year the new elements joined hands with the old opposition group.

A dramatic clash on the first day of the convention heralded the new alignment. About fifty of the delegates present came from locals which had not paid in full their per capita dues to the national organization. Thousands of union men were on the streets owing either to discrimination against them for union activity or to the prevalent unemployment. The mills were operating with great irregularity, and the high dues demanded by the union were hard to raise. In one case a bank failure had tied up union funds, making it impossible for the lodge to pay its obligations. When the administration-controlled credentials committee came in with a report to bar those delegates, their recommendation was overturned by an overwhelming vote. But an even harder blow came a little later when President Tighe announced that Senator James J. Davis of Pennsylvania had been asked to address the convention. Davis—he likes to be known as "Puddler Jim" among the steel workers—is a member of long standing in the Amalgamated and is always invited to speak at conventions. To union officialdom he is the "home boy who made good," and in the past it was rank heresy even to murmur against the incredible broadside of platitudes which is a Davis speech. But at this remarkable convention a delegate from Gary rose in protest and charged that the Senator had "played ball" with a company union in his city. When Davis finally did speak, urging a "copartnership of capital, the investor, the employer, and labor," a number of delegates walked out of the hall.

There was one chance left to keep the convention within the usual channels. It has been the rule that locals submit their resolutions on questions of policy and program early enough to be printed in the program of business. Only emergency resolutions could be introduced from the floor of the convention. In this convention the rules committee recommended a similar procedure. The delegates flatly refused to follow it and voted a substitute rule permitting the introduction of resolutions of any kind from the floor, giving the younger delegates a chance to submit their programs. Faced with this entirely new set of conditions the officials became panic-stricken. The steam-roller methods of the past were smashed. Union dues were reduced and the insurance system was thrown to the wolves.

But by far the most dramatic and dynamite-laden decision was the adoption by an overwhelming majority of the delegates of a militant program committing the organization to an immediate drive for union recognition and threatening a general strike in the industry to back up this demand. Every lodge was ordered to present demands for union recognition, the $6 a day minimum wage, and the thirty-hour week on May 21. Industry must give its answer by June 15 or face a national strike. Nor is the execution of this program left entirely in the hands of the union officers. Each union district will have its representative on the board which is to direct the fight and to deal with the employers or the government. The delegates were not willing to leave the execution of their program wholly in the hands of officials who had fought against its adoption.

Many have died in the battle to plant organization in the mills. Those who died in 1919—the dead of Homestead, McKees Rocks, and Ambridge—are having their monument built. Perhaps the steel strike will not be called. It may be that the old leadership will still be able to spike the development of the new movement. Or perhaps an agreement like that made in the automobile industry will serve temporarily to becloud and delay the issue. But the workers in the mills have shown a spirit that will surely produce an important chapter in the history of American labor.

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Bringing Shelter Up to Date

III. Why Don't We Do It?

By DOUGLAS HASKELL

IN thinking about a home, we might place on one side of the balance all our favorite desires. The average American would like his home capacious, comfortable, well serviced; and in addition, how he would like to have it air-conditioned, not to say streamlined! The few people who are more subtle than the average want gardens, playgrounds for the children, security from traffic and distance from noise, and a sense of peace and ease. A home in such terms would arouse a feeling of desire. We all strive hard for luxuries, not necessities.

Over against these desires, as the source of their satisfaction, stand the national resources, the factories, the workers, engineers, and planners who combine to make up the capacity of the plant. And in America this capacity is adequate. Our desires could be satisfied beyond all previous hopes. The lowbrows could have their gadgets and the highbrows their fine community plan. No Utopia is required. Despite all the skepticism that a first-class "depression" has engendered, we are compelled to admit that the plant with its huge capacity is there, demonstrable in hard figures to any who care to look. They need only consider physical geography, plant inventory, and the known resources of technical skill. In the first of these articles I threw up the roughest kind of sketch; but the closest study could scarcely diminish the finding of opulence. If enough of us were suddenly convinced that survival was at stake, as in a war, then you would see this plant rapidly put to work, and its output would be a revelation.

Our desires, then, should be the motive power, and the capacity of the plant the base for calculation. But this is not how it works today. What stands between? Two things separate us from the home of our desires. The first is the notorious inefficiency of the building "industry." The second applies to all industries; it is the operation of the "market."

The combined effect of inefficiency and market speculation has resulted in a mode of operation in the building trades that is fantastic beyond anything else in the economic emporium. F. L. Ackerman describes it in the February *Architectural Forum*. The process is one that depends directly on decay. "When account is taken of the cost of promotions, financing, sales, construction of habitations, taxes, and the cost of living, it is readily seen that from one-half to two-thirds of the population cannot be housed until a like proportion of habitations has fallen into an advanced stage of decay and obsolescence." In other words, what with one cost charge and another, so expensive has shelter become that none of it could be built new except for the very well-to-do. The rest of us could have it after they were through with it. They have enjoyed a sort of *prima nocte* in our homes. If we tried to get in sooner, we were soon set right by a foreclosure. It is as if clothes were so expensive that new ones could be bought only by bankers and gangsters, the rest of us depending on their hand-me-downs. So when it comes to the bottom third of us in the economic scale, we "cannot be housed until nearly two-thirds of all habitations have fallen into such decay that they are no longer to be rated as investments and are viewed by owners, mortgage holders, and tax collectors as liabilities. These facts seem to indicate that slums and blighted areas are among the assured end-products of our economy." This in the "richest country on earth"!

The housing movement began its attack on these irrelevant costs with what economies the technical ingenuity of planners and architects could devise "in the field." To circumvent high land costs it devised better layouts, and against high construction costs it devised "large-scale operations." This not being enough, the sales and promotion costs were reduced by "limited-dividend" companies; but since high profits are what makes the wheels go round or stops them, such enterprises were not attractive except to philanthropists. So now there has come the attack on costs by weighting them, through public action. Advocates of public housing today wish to cut down the weight of the old ox-cart of real estate by reducing land costs (through the right of eminent domain); to massage some weight from the driver by legislation aimed to secure compulsory investment of funds at low interest rates; and then to hitch a horse to the ox by supplementing the inadequate purchasing power of the "lower income groups" with a government subsidy. This approach is in no way communistic. It endeavors to work through the present builders; but both the incentive and the success are dubious.

There is left, then, the attack on costs through building homes a good deal as we build automobiles—the attack proposed in the first two of these articles. Here the opportunities are so large that capital invested in them could draw handsome profits. The efficiency of building mainly in the factory rather than in the field is only the beginning of a series. Your house becomes increasingly independent of its site and, as technology improves, increasingly independent of heavy city installations. It becomes demountable if not movable; it can choose its location out of a much larger, hitherto unavailable area of land. You can live almost anywhere near a road. The proposal brings shelter into the industrial tempo, makes it flexible like industrial products.

And yet it is here, having started off full of hope, that we are perhaps doomed to the sharpest disappointment. It is here that bookkeeping can once more take its eventual revenge. For nobody has devised a way of starting off a new industry without creating a big new debt; it is called the industry's "capital." Once set on its way, this debt grows faster than the purchasing power that buys the product; the purchaser too is therefore permitted to go into debt through mortgages; and we are off once more to a new boom, followed by the complete revolution of a new business cycle.

When at the end of the cycle the new crisis comes, we may perhaps console ourselves that we have made a net advance. The modern homes are there. The plants and tech-

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nique are there. For a time capacity has been approached. But there is a hitch. Nobody has any comfortable benefit of the homes; the debtors, if not turned out by the sheriff, sit there by sufferance of the creditors. And nobody uses the plants, except in fits and starts. The only potent thing left is the mountain of paper which establishes the claims of the creditors. The only aim fully attained is that for which the cycle was begun by business—the creation of this new debt.

Thus, somewhat wearily, we come to the conclusion that no further technical advance, such as supplying everyone with a modern home, can be made of any lasting benefit without the thorough and complete redesigning of our method of keeping books, which we call "capitalism." Yet there is a further suspicion to be entertained, namely, that the process of rapid expansion may scarcely be able to begin. We shall soon see. Industrialists have been investing hundreds of thousands in research, apparently in the belief that production will proceed. On the other side we have the indicative and revealing program just announced by President Roosevelt.

What this program reveals is that there is scarcely a lacuna left in the interrelated structure of the debts we call capital. There is scarcely the old chance for one capitalist to start even though he thereby damages the obsolete equipment represented by the old investments of another. President Roosevelt's program is a stunner to those who have thought that there might still be an escape through the existing government. Theoretically the government has independent powers. Actually it makes no move that does not first pass the scrutiny of the insurance companies with their twenty-odd billions, the building-and-loan societies with their eight billions, and in short the other guiding spirits directing, among other things, the forty-three-billion-dollar debt represented in all sorts of mortgages. These debts are now all one lump. If the government were to underwrite new construction on the basis of social need, this would automatically wipe out a part of the old debt and with it the "good property" of the two-thousand-odd people who control it and us. So a new industry has to shoulder more than its own "proper" debt. Besides pushing along its own new mountain of paper it has to push the old one. For the old and the new are one.

We have already seen on what the old real-estate mortgages were based. They were based on a product which two-thirds of us could not enjoy until it became physically or financially moribund. So far as usefulness went, these debts were fully canceled years and decades ago; some of them never had any usefulness at all. But only the minimum was ever written off. Throughout the depression the financial institutions carried what they could by pure bookkeeping fictions. No income to consumers was in sight with which to pay off these debts or establish these "property values," but there they were in the books just the same.

The President's program is all of the same piece. It encourages "renovation and remodeling" to refurbish the obsolete debt-ridden properties for a new run. It establishes mortgage associations to knit the structure still closer. And then there is the neatest trick of all, from a President who is an old insurance hand himself: mortgages and shares are to be insured (as determined by the benefit of the market) by the government through claims on our children and their grandchildren. Let it be added that the service of the government bonds employed is in itself a charge against any future production. It is all logical, because in order to stimulate any new business you have to have an active mortgage market, and the mortgage market, old and new, is one. In fact, in so far as any of us have "invested," our own money is working for the debt and against the satisfaction of our own future needs. The rate, then, at which we can secure new homes depends on the rate at which these people can become intoxicated and enthusiastic over their own powers of pyramiding their debt claims, postponing the demand for payment, and unloading excess on the government or on the small and powerless man.

It seems, then, that this paper structure has a ghostly life all its own, and follows its own paths; in the past they happened to take the direction of new automobiles, breakfast foods, and radios; in the last few years they have led to starvation for many people; and in the future they are bound to run counter to any large-scale, modern, and adequate production unless by auto-intoxication. Bankers control it, but idiots could perhaps get the same results.

Summing up, any plant manager, given the resources and equipment to be found in the United States, could supply us all with marvelous and unprecedented homes. He would work with inventories that listed tangible goods, and through executive orders that set to work real machines. But he could never get them through the market. The weird superstition under which we live and suffer, a superstition of positively scholastic refinement and cleverness, may not even give him the chance to begin. We have no chance to measure our slavery unless we keep our eye on the best that we *might* have as a home.

[*This is the last article in Mr. Haskell's series.*]

Wild Bee's Nest

By ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

I wish that I possessed the key
To read the print which the wild bee
Has put around his paper palace.
There is not a single careless
Line in all that he has writ
Roundabout the walls of it.

If I could read this fine inscription
On paper older than Egyptian,
I might surprise the architect
Who works in secret to erect
The arches of the frost and guides
The mullions on the undersides
Of beetles' wings, who carves each cup
The water-lily opens up,
Or hammers the snowflakes' filigree.

It must be happiness to be
A creature that can do no wrong,
Whose house is built so like a song,
Small to greater, then to small,
A little universe of wall
Full of independent night.
A bee does nothing but is right,
His house grows by its own sure plan
Into a music lost to man.

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Feudalism and a Knight Errant in California

By BENNETT L. WILLIAMS

"WELL, boys," said I, "it looks like the Pacific Gas and Electric Company is about to have me fired from the *Tribune*" (Oakland, California).

The speaker was myself, Bennett L. Williams, San Francisco police-beat reporter for the *Tribune;* the place was the decidedly informal pressroom in the Hall of Justice, San Francisco; the time, about 7:30 a.m., Friday, April 13, 1934, about fourteen hours after I had brought suit in the California Supreme Court against the California Railroad Commission to prevent it "from compromising" the rate-reduction case with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

Complaint No. 250195, filed by me against the company on April 17 in Superior Court, asking damages, recites that I was correct in my surmise, and that I was unmistakably fired a few hours later. The complaint further recites:

> That plaintiff [that's me] was informed over the telephone by Stanley Norton, city editor of said Oakland *Tribune,* that plaintiff should not have filed said petition "against the Pacific Gas and Electric Company," and otherwise gave plaintiff to understand that said company objected strongly to such filing. . . .
>
> That the said Norton . . . remarked in effect that newspaper reporters should keep themselves pure and unspotted from the world, its contaminations, prejudices, and strifes; but that plaintiff was not deceived thereby, but rather was amused at the trite bit of drivel that even a moron wandering into a kindergarten class of journalism would not fall for.
>
> That plaintiff was discharged from said position solely at the behest and demand of said Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the same being a perfect example of the bludgeoning savagery with which the said Pacific Gas and Electric Company deals with an honorable and upright citizen who dares interfere with its schemes and plans to continue its excessive charges for gas and electricity.
>
> That in the [Supreme Court] action plaintiff declared that approximately 2,000,000 Californians are in reality just so many enfeoffed vassals under the feudal overlordship of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company; that said company . . . promptly proceeded, like a heathen in his blindness, to demonstrate that an American citizen who attempts to exercise his constitutional rights against said company fares no better than did the serf who presumed to petition his feudal overlord in the Dark Ages.
>
> That the above is not an overstatement of the situation; that plaintiff has been suddenly and ruthlessly and most unjustly deprived of his only means of livelihood; that said company will "persuade" other newspapers to boycott plaintiff, and that plaintiff has no possible means of protection and redress except in court action.

This all arose out of an order issued by the California Railroad Commission November 13, 1933, directing the Pacific Gas and Electric Company to reduce its natural-gas rates by approximately $2,100,000 a year; the subsequent appeal by the company to the federal courts; and the about-face action of three of the five members of the commission in suddenly ordering a rehearing on the rate question, although no request for such rehearing had been filed with the commission. The company, however, promptly came before the commission and offered to settle for less than half. My suit followed.

The complaint, which I drew up and filed myself—I am not a lawyer and did not have the money to hire one—contains something new in a legal prayer. I asked that the court assess damages against the company to the full value of the company, and that in liquidation of those damages all the assets and property of the company be turned over to the general public to operate as a publicly owned and managed and controlled utility. I asked this as exemplary damages. I also asked $50,000 direct damages. These exemplary damages I asked because of my "most sincere and abiding desire speedily to rid the public of a most baleful, disruptive, and anti-social force, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company under private management and control."

Then I went on to allege that the records of the California Railroad Commission show that every cent of the company's assets has been taken from the public in the form of excessive charges for gas and electricity. As a sample of these charges I pointed to the fact that the Pacific Gas and Electric Company charges the general public $1.45 for the first 1,000 cubic feet of natural gas, whereas the company pays but 7 cents for that same 1,000 cubic feet of gas. For the second 1,000 cubic feet the rate is 85 cents, and so on up to 6,000 cubic feet. The average domestic consumer in San Francisco pays $1.11 per 1,000 cubic feet for this 7-cent gas!

On this point the complaint alleges:

> That the company has extracted from the public under guise of collections for gas and electricity . . . every cent needed to buy and furnish all its equipment, property, and assets from a pin to its several-million-dollar cash surplus, and to pay all its operating expenses, maintenance charges, and to extend its plant and equipment . . . and that the company has taken from the general public nearly one billion dollars during the last twenty-two years, but without giving the general public credit for one cent of the value that it alone created.
>
> That instead of building up an agency with the single purpose of serving the public, the company has developed into a feudal system, and uses its power to violate the rights of citizens who seek to check it in its heedless and destructive course.

To those who hold up their hands in holy horror and shout that I advocate confiscation of the company's property, I reply: The company is confiscating my home. It charges me more for natural gas for heat alone than I pay in taxes on that home. And now the company has caused me to be fired from my job, thus cutting off my sole income.

Brothers and sisters, how would you like that?

Do you think more of your home, your private property, than you do of a bugaboo abstraction, a rickety scarecrow flapping in the wind?

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A Statement to the President

THE statement which follows was prepared by a group of liberal editors and publicists led by Oswald Garrison Villard, and was read to President Roosevelt at the White House on Friday, April 29. It has since been submitted for signature to a larger group of persons, whose names, with those of the original signers, appear below.

To the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States:

We believe that the acid test of the New Deal lies in its effect on the actual distribution of the wealth which the machine age creates but which we have yet to find the way to spread out and use. The depression dramatized both our success and our failure by its vast stocks of unpurchased goods and by its massed unemploment.

For the rank and file of Americans this distribution of wealth comes down to work and earning power; and unless that is substantially increased, and made secure, recovery is bound to stall and Western democracy must acknowledge its incapacity to plan and control the economic forces on which modern life depends.

We believe that higher wages, higher purchasing power, higher living standards can, short of government dictation, come only through the bargaining power of labor so well organized that it has an effective voice in determining working conditions. In the process of stimulating revival the NRA has made no determined effort, so far as we have observed, to bring unionization and collective bargaining to a point where the codes can be enforced. If we are to find a democratic solution, things can no longer be allowed to drift.

I

We recommend that a prime charge on the present Congress should be the creation of a Labor Board in the United States Department of Labor with full power to safeguard the right of workers to organize and bargain through representatives of their own choosing. The law should ban coercion whether in the form of (a) company initiated, financed, or dominated unions, (b) suppression of insurgent unions, (c) discrimination against and discharge of those who participate in union activities, or (d) compulsory arbitration.

In order to insure freedom of choice in controversial situations, the board should provide and require a standard, anonymous form of ballot, and demand the absence of electioneering and intimidation at the polls. In the machine age the voting machine might become a vitalizing symbol for democratic articulation of the workers.

We believe that government initiative in bringing order into industrial relations will be balked unless Congress renews the present power of the President to license industries which fail to conform to standards and procedures such as are envisaged in the code system. It is not necessary to remind you, Mr. President, of the defiant attitude of the United States Steel Corporation, the Weirton Steel Corporation, the Budd Company, and others.

II

We believe that minimum-wage provisions under the NRA need overhauling. They were conceived as a method to provide a bottom level for industrial employment in the United States, but there are gaps and holes in that bottom; and they are too low to provide even a health and decency measure of income. The whole range of minimum standards needs reexamination and jacking up. Unionization, if encouraged, can be counted upon to head off the widespread practice of making the minimum wage the medial or maximum wage, or of making it the pretext for rate-cutting and speeding up. But meantime our whole wage structure has been undermined by the rapid increase in prices. We recommend that the basic minimum rates be tied up with the cost of living indices of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, and automatically be required to rise with them.

III

With wages lagging behind profits, and production already beginning to grow beyond the power of the wage-earning market to consume, the weakness of the NRA set-up (with its code authorities dominated by industrial interests) is registered in price practices which jeopardize the whole recovery program. Labor organization is weak in comparison with trade organization, but consumer organization is weaker or non-existent. The Consumers' Advisory Board is encased in a producers' scheme of control. We believe that just as in the case of the creation of the Labor Board, there is need for an independent, outside consumers' agency of government, which shall have an entirely free hand in standing for the consumers' stake in the flow of current wealth.

It should be equipped with a consumers' standards laboratory and research staff such as has been recommended by the Consumers' Advisory Board. It should have a legal and educational staff which should inform and defend the consuming public. It should have powers of investigation and recommendation of legal action as unequivocal as those of the Federal Trade Commission, and should promote and serve organizations of consumers in the same way that the Department of Agriculture has looked out for the farmers.

IV

The most defenseless consumers, the Americans whose earning power has been most desperately smashed by the depression and whose depleted purchasing power is the greatest drag on recovery, are the unemployed. We are not only dealing with an overhang of mass unemployment, but that mass unemployment is augmented by new bodies of workers thrown out of work every month because of technological changes. The process of throwing jobs into the discard has been going on wholesale during the depression, and is accelerated now that wages have been increased.

We need to abandon our emergency attitude toward unemployment, and first of all to build the federal-State-city relief set-up into an orderly system of administration with elements of permanent planning. The demoralizing dole of groceries should be ended, and the American family put on a self-respecting basis when out of work. Backward policies in the localities involved should not set the standards in the distribution under federal grants to States and cities. Adequate cash benefits should be required as a national policy. On the one hand, such unemployment-relief administrations should be welded into a permanent system of public-welfare services. On the other hand, we should institute a national system of unemployment insurance.

We are glad to learn that the force of the Administration has been thrown behind the Wagner-Lewis bill, which would use the federal taxing power as a leverage to instal State un-

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employment-insurance measures. With over forty legislatures meeting next winter, now is the time to act. Unless we do act now, American workers will have no more security against unemployment than they had in 1929. Nothing in the way of a system of permanent security has as yet come out of the depression.

We urge that the full force of national leadership be put behind the extension of the United States Employment Service. At the same time we raise the question whether the federal-aid principle which so successfully has led to the reinforcement of a score of State employment services, cannot and should not be employed to advance the date when State unemployment-insurance funds begin to function. Why not use some of the huge sums now going into relief to instal a permanent system of protection through unemployment insurance? Similarly we urge the application at this session of Congress of the federal-aid principle to the spread of old-age pensions. We recommend further a program for stabilizing employment and sustaining purchasing power. Moves that make for better distribution of income should be accompanied by protective measures against hazards too heavy to be borne by families as such. The cost of medical care should be met by spreading the risk over groups of people and over periods of time. Sickness insurance is basic to any national planning for health.

V

We believe that there should be a tie-up between the Securities Act and the NRA, the control of capital issues and the routing of government credit, so as to make these financial policies a force for stabilizing employment and earnings.

We recognize that the high hopes held out for public-works appropriations for housing, as a means for giving employment and stimulating the capital-goods industries, have met with persistent disappointment. We believe that instead of abandoning this, double and treble energy and money should go into it, and that the meshes of delay should be broken through. We urge that if local housing developments continue to drag, the federal housing authority should itself, and at once, embark on projects on a national scale. Private capital will not go into really low-cost housing as a profit-making venture. It never has done so. If governments—national, State, and city—face their duty and provide such housing, they will not be competing with legitimate private interests, but with the substandard, unsanitary slum buildings which drain the efficiency of American workers and disgrace our civilization.

As a stimulus to such a housing development, we recommend that the federal government provide money for housing purposes at low interest rates and for long amortization periods. Three per cent, instead of 4 or 5, would be the equivalent of direct financial grants and on many counts preferable. Such a low interest rate would start a continuous policy of rebuilding to be carried on throughout the year.

Such programs of constructive expenditure, together with the rehabilitation of educational, health, and other services, will require money. Increased income and inheritance taxes afford means for distributing the wealth of America in socially useful channels. We believe that the postal-savings banks and their tremendous increase in thrift depositors point the way to government banking. They should provide checking facilities as well. Why should we not have a government system of banks run, not for private profit, but for the public service? The government would gain enormously by it and find itself able to develop vast credits for the financing of a far-reaching social program. The attacks on the Securities Act and the obstruction to the Stock Exchange bill by interests which have axes to grind prove the need for an immediate, aggressive counterthrust by the Administration which will restore confidence among the people as to the financial leadership of the government.

VI

Certain industries in which there is a primary public interest should be made the subject for experimentation in a larger degree of planning and cooperative control, as, for example, the natural-resource industries on which the whole fabric of industry depends. Coal is one, which after six months of futility under the code is still in chaos—with no elements of conservation, no adequate stabilization, and no security for miners and their earning power. Oil is another. Power is a third, with the Tennessee Valley as the great laboratory. So, too, the communications and transportation industries and, also, consumer industries suggest themselves. Housing has been touched upon. Milk presents an equally arresting opportunity, one of the most necessary food products, at the mercy of conflicting interests, with impoverished farmers and undernourished children caught in the confusion. The emasculation of the food-and-drug bill shows the need of a great drive in this field under your personal leadership.

We have no hesitation in urging these recommendations, not merely because we deem them vital to the success of the New Deal, but because the people will listen to you and follow your lead if you will appeal to them and ask for their support against the threatening forces of inertia, reaction, and selfish rapacity.

Edith Abbott; Ethel Richardson Allen; Frederick L. Allen; Frederic Almy; Beulah Amidon; Read Bain; Roger Baldwin; C. Rankin Barnes; Harry Elmer Barnes; W. G. Beach; Paul T. Beisser; A. A. Berle, Sr.; Algernon D. Black; Bruce Bliven; Franz Boas; Theodore H. Boggs; James C. Bonbright; Leroy Bowman; Elizabeth Brandeis; Susan Brandeis; Ann Reed Brenner; Paul Brissenden; Kenneth L. Brown; Jessica Bruce; Henry M. Busch; John B. Canning; Lucy P. Carner; Ruth Catlin; Percival Chubb; Evans Clark; Rudolph I. Coffee; Mollie Condon; Rossa B. Cooley; F. R. Cope, Jr.; E. H. Lewinski-Corwin; Jerome Count; Bronson Cutting; Elmer Davis; Jerome Davis; Michael M. Davis; Neva R. Deardorff; Edward T. Devine; John Dewey; John N. Dick; Paul H. Douglas; Professor and Mrs. Horace A. Eaton; John Edelman; Sherwood Eddy; John L. Elliott; Haven Emerson; Abraham Epstein; D. M. Erb; Morris L. Ernst; Elmer D. Fagan; Douglas Falconer; Dorothy Canfield Fisher; Galen M. Fisher; Walter Frank; Mary T. L. Gannett; Mary L. Gibbons; Mary B. Gilson; Martin G. Glaeser; Jonah Goldstein; S. S. Goldwater; Harold M. Groves; Fanny S. H. Hall; Fred S. Hall; Helen Hall; Florence Curtis Hanson; Frederick K. Hardy; Helen Harris; Hubert Herring; John Haynes Holmes; William S. Hopkins; Harold Hotelling; Grace B. House; Fannie Hurst; Frances Ingram; Samuel G. Inman; Stanley M. Isaacs; Clara Sturges Johnson; F. Ernest Johnson; William T. Johnson; John Paul Jones; Samuel Joseph; Arthur Kellogg; Paul U. Kellogg; Benjamin B. Kendrick; Albert J. Kennedy; William H. Kilpatrick; Freda Kirchwey; Joseph Wood Krutch; Sadie L. Kulakofsky; A. S. Langsdorf; Richard T. Lapiere; Bruno Lasker; Loula D. Lasker; John R. Lawson; Agnes Brown Leach; Henry Goddard Leach; Alice Lee; Eduard C. Lindeman; Henry Linville; Karl N. Llewellyn; Owen R. Lovejoy; Solomon Lowenstein; Simon J. Lubin; Robert S. Lynd; Elizabeth Magee; Amy G. Maher; Frank A. Manny; Lucy R. Mason; Mark A. McCloskey; Francis J. McConnell; Mary E. McDowell; Wayne McMillen; J. H. Melish; Adolf Meyer; Harry Moak; Phyllis Moir; Henry

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Moskowitz; J. Prentice Murphy; Henry R. Mussey; David S. Muzzey; Henry Neumann; Harry A. Overstreet; Marion E. Park; George D. Pratt, Jr.; Jane A. Pratt; Evelyn Preston; Herbert Rabinowitz; Lewis A. Riley; Ira S. Robbins; Jane E. Robbins; Josephine Roche; Etta L. Rosensohn; E. A. Ross; Mary Ross; Evart G. Routzahn; I. M. Rubinow; John A. Ryan; John Nevin Sayre; David S. Schick; Vida D. Scudder; David Seabury; Ben M. Selekman; E. S. Shaw; Arthur L. Strasser; Horace Taylor; Lea D. Taylor; Ordway Tead; Sidney A. Teller; Walter A. Terpenning; V. T. Thayer; A. J. Todd; Oswald Garrison Villard; Merle D. Vincent; Alice Ware; Rhoda M. White; Clair Wilcox; Frankwood E. Williams; Harold P. Winchester; Stephen S. Wise; Edwin E. Witte; Herbert A. Wolff; Kimball Young; Savel Zimand; Mary Clarke Bennett; Albert W. Beaven; George Bellamy; Arthur Robert Burns; Sarah V. Cooper; Edward P. Costigan; James H. Dillard; Monsignor Keegan; W. P. Ladd; Annie Nathan Meyer; William E. Mosher; John C. Weaver; Eva W. White; A. F. Whitney.

In the Driftway

FOR years now Western Union has been cultivating the middle-class virtues among its patrons. One of its most persistent annual campaigns—directed toward ancestor worship—was staged only recently, culminating on Mother's Day, when who knows how many million mothers received telegraphic messages of love ranging from simple declarative sentences to high-flown if platitudinous rhymes—at graduated prices—which were probably ghost-written by a telegraph clerk who cordially hated his maternal parent. During this campaign one was very likely to discover on a telegram bearing the news of Uncle Henry's sudden death or placing an order for 10,000 shares of Something Common a sticker which pointed out that a greeting to mother on Mother's Day, especially via Western Union, was socially correct. At other seasons of the year Western Union promotes other appropriate sentiments at so much a word prepaid or even collect. And at all seasons it reminds unthoughtful customers of the simple amenities. Only recently the Drifter had occasion to wire for money. "Do you mind," asked the young man in the faintly sad and reproachful tone of a Salvation Army lassie who has observed the Golden Rule being broken, "asking that it be sent by Western Union?" "Of course not," the Drifter replied, contrite and confused, "stupid of me not to think of it myself."

* * * * *

IT was inevitable, once Western Union had started on its righteous course, that it should eventually assume the role of censor. The expression "lousy" was among its first victims. And now a zealous Western Union missionary in Birmingham, Alabama, Mr. Pinkard by name, has taken the responsibility of keeping off the press wires two news dispatches to the *Daily Worker* dealing with a strike now going on in that region, involving both Negro and white workers, in which two strikers have been killed. The dispatches apparently were too red for Mr. Pinkard, who sent to the *Daily Worker* the following telegram of explanation when it was discovered—in spite of Mr. Pinkard's discreet silence in the matter—that the wires had not been transmitted:

> Two propaganda dispatches picked up from drugstore to *Daily Worker,* New York. These dispatches were not entitled to press rates and were returned to post-office box number left by sender. The sender gave us no opportunity to pass on the highly inflammatory character contained in the dispatches and we therefore returned them to the address listed. The contents were strictly propaganda.

* * * * *

AT the moment Mr. Pinkard's theory of the function of a telegraph operator is being passed upon by R. B. White, president of Western Union, at the request of the *Daily Worker.* The Drifter feels fairly sure that for purely business reasons Mr. Pinkard will be reversed. One has only to contemplate the plight of Western Union, the newspapers, and their readers if the theory is upheld. In the past a newspaper correspondent has sent even his demands for money at press rates. If Mr. Pinkard is right, what will become of the speeches of everybody from President Roosevelt (urging stock-exchange regulation) to W. Kingsland Macy (urging Justice Stone for President) and Father Coughlin (speaking for silver). As for the dispatches of Mark Sullivan, they would have to be sent in asbestos code, for obviously they might easily inflame some member of the Union League Club to assassinate Rexford Tugwell. On the whole, Western Union had better stick to Mother's Day and Christmas, even though its operators in the South don't like Communists and their attitude toward Negroes, for if Western Union tries to keep propaganda out of press correspondence it will shortly do itself out of a lot of business—and, conceivably, out of the profits with which it has carried on so valiantly its propaganda to preserve the middle-class virtues.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Dr. Ross and Dr. Loos

To the Editors of The Nation:

The Nation for April 18 contained an editorial about the treatment of Drs. Ross and Loos by the Los Angeles County Medical Society. I wish to add a comment that may be of use should this case assume national importance, as I trust it will. The editorial ends with the words: "They will appeal their case to the Council of the California State Medical Association for review and if necessary to the Council of the American Medical Association for *final decision.*"

Two comments: (1) The intrenched group that controls the A. M. A. probably instigated this action; (2) the courts oblige members of associations to seek redress from wrongs in the organization to its central body before any appeal may be made to the courts. The A. M. A. considers that it is the judge of what is good for society, and it fights the socialization of medicine on that ground. The people feel that the courts as a disinterested party should be the arbiter, but thus far there have been no cases that have been appealed to the courts after having been carried to the Judicial Council of the A. M. A.

One of the outstanding cases is the Stanacola (Standard Oil Company of Louisiana) case in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, where the local society threw out certain doctors who

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worked on salary for a hospital-and-health association of Standard Oil employees. The Louisiana State Society decided their work was not unethical (contract practice), but the A. M. A. came back with a decision that the local society had a right to determine the conditions of its membership. There the matter rests today. Another case is the result of efforts of physicians of the Dallas Street Railway Employees' Association to be restored to membership in the local society, from which they were expelled because they cared for street-railway employees on an insurance plan. The State society of Texas and the A. M. A. ruled against them, and great pressure was brought to bear on them from indirect medical sources. The doctors dropped their work for the Dallas Street Railway Employees rather than carry the matter to the courts, where I feel they would have won their case.

The Ross-Loos case will have to be carried to the courts for a fair hearing, and the matter will never be settled till some one does this. Dr. Clifford Loos has the backbone, and with help like yours I hope he may win.

San Francisco, May 15 P. K. Smith

"A Monument to Paris"

To the Editors of The Nation:

Mr. Warre B. Wells protests in your issue of May 2 against my remarks upon translation in general and his translation of Jules Romains in particular, made in the course of a review you published three months ago. The matter seems to me to deserve further discussion.

1. *Translation in General.* I am reproached for the fact that I said the only "perfect" *(sic)* translations were completely free translations. Well, what are the classics of English translation? Urquhart's Rabelais, North's Amyot's Plutarch, Holland's Suetonius, Florio's Montaigne, Jarvis's "Don Quixote." If they are not "completely free," what are they?

Mr. Wells rules that a translator "is entitled to take liberties" with his author "only if he is driven to do so for the sake of clarity in his own language." But of course! Only I say there is no "if" and these are not "liberties." Each language possesses its own genius, to which the writer—author or translator—is bound to be obedient. In such obedience Romains used the metaphor (which he did not invent), *sonorité de cailloux;* in such disobedience Mr. Wells translated by an unintelligible invention, "sonority of shingle," a phrase the only English for which is "plangent."

2. *Mr. Wells's Romains in Particular.* Depending, as he boasts, upon his eye, Mr. Wells has been deceived by the look of many a French word. Here are specimens. *Officieusement* has nothing to do with "officious" but means literally "unofficially"; *peine* is properly translated by "sadness" not by "pain"; *la Saint-Jean* is not "St. John's Day" but Midsummer Night. There is in Mr. Wells's translation a type of error the elucidation of which should give satisfaction to the translator, though it must be a bore for everyone else. For example, when a woman is to meet a man in *un entresol* it is not her but his apartment that is in question. An *entresol* is classically a lower floor of a building in which a vigorous bourgeois, unbeknown to his family, keeps a pair of rooms for the express purpose of clandestine entertainment. *La raison social* cannot be translated by "social register," a phrase which has no meaning in England and a quite special one in America. The translation is "firm name." *Institution libre* is not a "free institution"; it designates the class of educational establishment in France that is not free, but is licensed by the state to charge fees.

However, I stick to my point: the important thing about a translation into English is the translator's English. If that is right, the rest will worry nobody. When the translator of "Batouala" rendered *Ce livre n'est qu'une collection d'eau-fortes* by "This book is only a collection of strong drinks," he must have been dictating while playing a bassoon or running for a train. The meaninglessness of the English evidences the imbecility of the translation—and not necessarily of the translator, mind you: he may have been simply heedless, in a hurry.

Meanwhile, what are publishers' editors for, if not to catch this sort of thing?

New York, May 3 Lewis Galantiere

Why Call the Police?

To the Editors of The Nation:

I should like to protest through your columns against what I regard as a dangerous precedent, likely to lead to such conditions as obtain in Germany. Visiting the New Lots Evening High School on one evening last winter as the guest of one of the teachers, I was surprised to find policemen patrolling the corridors. On inquiry I learned they were there at the request of the principal to break up a student demonstration. The demonstration had been called to protest against the payment of excessive fees as deposits on books and against the principal's summary dismissal of a student from the school.

Now without arguing the merits of the student claims, no one seriously interested in keeping our institutions of learning free from the kind of intimidation and coercion all too frequent in Germany can see a reason for the police. They have absolutely no business in a public school. It is assumed when he is hired that the principal has the capacity and intelligence to deal with the student body. When his ideas run counter to those of a substantial number of students, the least he can do if he has any decency is to permit the expression of contrary opinion.

The action of the principal in calling the cops to enforce his bidding, aside from being an affront to the children of taxpayers, is an open admission of incompetence and an act of cowardice. The logical outcome of such a procedure would be for teachers to summon police to their classrooms every time they have a misunderstanding with students.

Brooklyn, N. Y., April 10 Ben Schrago

Julia Lathrop

To the Editors of The Nation:

May we ask that you call the attention of *Nation* readers to the fact that we are assembling material for a book, "Life and Letters of Julia Lathrop," and will be very grateful if any who have letters or other papers written by Miss Lathrop will send them to Grace Abbott, 528 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., for our use. If desired, they will be copied and originals returned promptly. If return is not requested, they will be filed with other Julia Lathrop papers in the manuscript division of the University of Chicago Library.

Jane Addams and Grace Abbott

Washington, April 20

Erratum

To the Editors of The Nation:

In my letter entitled A Brief for Insulin in *The Nation* of April 4, in the next to the last line of the second paragraph, appeared the phrase "period 1915-33." This should have been "1915-22."

Baltimore, Md., April 13 Harry A. Teitlebaum

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The Intelligent Traveler

Trips for Young People

PARENTS who have investigated the advantages of a good summer camp for boys and girls in their 'teens know that those with proper surroundings, equipment, and personnel are usually not cheap. They are discovering that a summer abroad may not cost much, if anything, more than a good camp, and of course the rewards to the young traveler may be very great.

Within the last few years there has been a decided development of trips for boys and girls. For the most part they are run by teachers or other sympathetic leaders of youth who thoroughly enjoy conducting their charges through foreign countries and who inspire in them an answering enthusiasm. Many trips are recruited personally and locally, and for that reason the following schedule must be incomplete. However, most of the enterprises listed have been established for several years, and have won the confidence of parents. They all do a good job in combining the pleasures of travel in a congenial group with real educational values.

One of the pioneers in travel for young people is Dr. Sven V. Knudsen, who with his wife will conduct this summer the eighth trip of "American Boys Abroad." The group leaves New York on June 29, visits England, the Scandinavian countries, Berlin, Holland, Switzerland, and Paris, and returns on August 11; the inclusive price is $435, third class. The feature of Dr. Knudsen's trips is that the boys are entertained in fine European homes. Dr. Knudsen's wide circle of acquaintances abroad makes possible this foreign hospitality, which is often converted into genuine friendship for the young Americans. Boys between seventeen and twenty-two years of age are accepted. For further information address Dr. Sven V. Knudsen, 248 Boylston Street, Boston.

The Sorland Camp, on the south coast of Norway, is the best bargain I have seen offered. The trip costs $300, third class, from New York back to New York, sailing June 20, returning August 29. The group, which is limited to forty-eight boys between twelve and fifteen years, spends nearly five weeks in the camp, where there are water sports, instruction in crafts, athletics, and so on. Twelve days of sightseeing through Scandinavian countries, Berlin, Brussels, and Paris follow the period at camp. The camp is under the supervision of American and Norwegian Boy Scout leaders, although apparently not an official Scout project. The American representative is Merrill Christopherson, 432 Third Avenue, New York.

The World "Y" Tours, organized two seasons ago under Y. M. C. A. auspices, offer two trips this year. A boys' group traveling tourist-third at sea will spend forty-eight days in England and Central Europe under the leadership of David Creighton, of the Wilmington, Delaware, Y. M. C. A. The inclusive cost, New York to New York, is $430. A Mediterranean cruise on the Roma touches sixteen countries in the sixty-eight days from New York to New York. It costs $580, tourist class. The leaders are A. M. Black of the West Side Y. M. C. A., New York, and his wife. Girls as well as boys may register, and there is a plan for tutoring in one or two subjects at a small cost. Complete information about both trips may be obtained from J. C. Clark, director of World "Y" Tours, 347 Madison Avenue, New York.

"A Third Experiment in International Living" will be divided in several groups this summer. Two French-speaking and two German-speaking parties of boys and girls over sixteen years of age are planned. In this "experiment" American boys and girls live in foreign homes and go on camping and hiking

LOUIS FISCHER

Will accompany a group of ten Americans for 41 days in the Soviet Union. Traveling without haste the group will visit Leningrad, Moscow, the Ukraine, Dnieprostroi, Rostov and the great state farms, the Caucasus, Armenia, Black Sea and Crimean resorts, Kiev. Mr. Fischer will arrange meetings with Soviet authorities. Through him the group will contact all phases of Soviet life.

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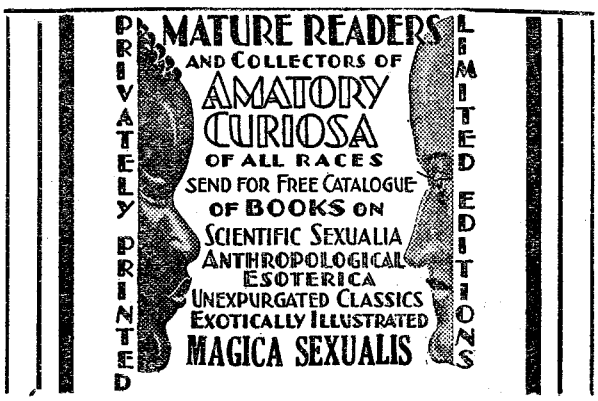

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expeditions with foreign boys and girls of the same age. Two years of language study is a requisite for admission to the groups, and the activities include study as well as practice in conversation. The cost is $400, from New York to New York, third class. The French-speaking groups sail June 30 and return to New York on September 4. The German-speaking groups sail June 27 and return to New York on Spetember 7. Each group is limited to fifteen and will be accompanied by a woman and a man leader. Address Donald B. Watt, 817 Comstock Avenue, Syracuse, New York.

Bicycling and walking through the British Isles, seeing the shrines of English literature, and meeting some of the outstanding literary men of our times are on the program for a group of ten young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two. The group will be conducted by Charles L. Todd, a graduate of Hamilton College, who took a similar trip two years ago, and Kimball Flaccus, a graduate of Dartmouth. It is sponsored by, among others, Mrs. Olin Downes, Lennox Robinson, Leonora Speyer, Joseph Auslander, Harold Vinal, and Witter Bynner. The cyclers will spend their evenings talking and reading about the places they visit, and will call on A. E. Housman, John Masefield, Lennox Robinson, Liam O'Flaherty, Richard Aldington, and others with whom the leaders have personal acquaintance. The group sails June 30 and returns to New York August 27. The inclusive cost is $600, tourist class at sea. Address Kimball Flaccus, 1301 John Jay Hall, Columbia University, New York.

A tour for boys between the ages of fourteen and nineteen will visit England, Holland, Switzerland, and France under the direction of Francis G. Simmons, who has been connected with boys' activities in several good private schools and camps. The group, limited in number, will sail on July 6 and will return to New York on August 31. The lower rate of two quoted is $615, third class at sea. Frances P. Adams will conduct a party of girls to England, Holland, France, and Switzerland. The rate is $725, tourist class, sailing on July 6 and returning August 31 to New York. Information on both trips may be obtained from World Acquaintance Travel, 56 West Forty-fifth Street, New York.

There are many excellent tours for students. For the third summer International Student Service, 140 Nassau Street, New York, is offering students a chance to spend part of a European vacation in student work camps. Seventy-five places have been allotted to American students in camps in Switzerland, Wales, and Germany. Work camps represent an effort to help students and professors by furnishing them outdoor surroundings at little or no cost, in return for which they work on some community project, such as road or trail building, land reclamation, or the like. Students are drawn from many countries, so that the work camps are centers for international fraternization. There is plenty of recreation along with the work. The students chosen by the International Student Service are admitted free to the camps of Switzerland and Wales and pay a small fee in Germany for board and lodging. The periods vary from two to six weeks. Women students are admitted occasionally to some of the camps.

Lack of space prevents discussion of other unusual types of travel projects. There are a number of European and Russian tours being organized for Negroes, and one, at least, of an interracial character. Palestine is beginning to attract travelers other than religious pilgrims. A number of summer trips are planned for persons who desire the opportunity to study the advanced economic and social institutions produced by Zionism.

JOHN ROTHSCHILD

[*In early issues of* The Nation, *Mr. Rothschild will discuss summer schools offering interesting courses in various European countries.*]

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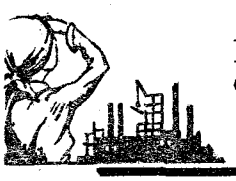

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Books and Films

Sharp Fear

By LIONEL WIGGAM

Lost on the high invisible hill
The goats are running in the rain.
Frail and terrified and shrill
Their cries have wakened me again.
Like little ghouls from tree to tree
They wander searching for the field
Where grass in fragile filigree
By rail and wire is safely sealed.
The sharp fear startled from their throats
I hear across the rising wind—
The crystal cries of little goats
That blind, increasing fright has thinned.
Weary and weeping they will run
Until the dawn invades the hills.
Tomorrow they may, in friendly sun,
Lie down among the daffodils.

Shakespeare's Rival

Ben Jonson. By John Palmer. The Viking Press. $3.50.

FOR more than a century after the death of Ben Jonson his name was commonly linked with the name of Shakespeare, when it was not—as it often was—put first. This is a commonplace of literary history, but there is a reason whose significance is not always appreciated. Jonson's virtues were virtues which it was easy to describe. He was learned, he was moral, and he had general ideas. The case for his greatness could easily be made out, and if you put him first you could say just why. But Shakespeare was at least as elusive then as he is today, and to acknowledge his supremacy was to acknowledge the inadequacy of the literary canons. That he was no scholar was bad enough. That he proved nothing and taught nothing was even worse. His champions could only urge the obvious fact that his work was supreme, but in criticism as in everything else a fact makes slow progress against an intelligible argument. The error, moreover, is one which every generation makes again when it considers its own writers. For similar reasons the eighteenth century put Richardson above Fielding and the nineteenth century put George Eliot above Dickens. Almost certainly the next generation will discover that we have made the same sort of mistake. We may read one writer with the greatest delight, but conscience will not allow us to put him before another whose work has the qualities which we think it ought to have. A is only entertaining and intelligent. B understands the significance of science, interprets the social scene, or what not. And of course we are wrong. It is for being intelligent and entertaining that writers are long read.

Mr. Palmer's admirable volume does not pretend to add anything to our knowledge of Jonson's life. It is, however, full of shrewd critical interpretations and his subject is one in connection with which such criticism is genuinely useful, because Jonson is a great writer whose greatness needs interpretation in order to be fully appreciated. There is no really wrong way of reading Shakespeare. He can be understood in a dozen different ways—some of which he would not have understood himself—and they are all rewarding. But Jonson is one-dimensional in the sense that he must be taken in the one way he was intended to be taken or he means nothing at all. And Mr. Palmer is an excellent guide, with scholarship enough to furnish the clew to what a modern could not divine for himself and with an admirable critical gift which enables him to make his author mean something to us. Moreover, he makes very clearly the distinction between an early play like "Every Man in His Humour," in which our interest must remain in large part antiquarian, and the masterly "Volpone," which is still almost majestic in its somberly poetic vision of a human vice carried to magnificent heights.

The earlier plays are very satisfactorily interpreted in terms of two conflicting impulses—the impulse to realism which led Jonson to the study of low life, and the impulse to an intellectual schematization which made him put his realistically observed characters through their paces in plays based upon a purely artificial conception of the "humors"—one of which completely dominates each personage. The start was always some peculiarity observed in nature, but once the start had been made, the peculiarity was lifted out of its context and made the theme of a purely logical structure in which observation played little part. The result is to combine a realism unequaled in Elizabethan literature with a singularly clear but narrow, mechanical, and highly artificial interpretation of events and their meaning. On the other hand, the later plays, particularly "Volpone," exhibit a power which their author developed only after his period of masque writing. Even "Volpone" is, to be sure, a study of avarice considered as a humor, and the method is far more like the method of logical exposition used by Molière than like the method of Shakespeare. But the poetry which Jonson could not wholly achieve in his classical tragedies illuminates the play, and the characters become almost terrifyingly impressive symbols of various unlovely passions at their height. Volpone, one might say, is not a character dominated by avarice; he is simply Avarice itself, an allegorical figure somehow endowed with a reality which allegorical figures usually do not possess.

To Mr. Palmer, Jonson is the last great embodiment of the Elizabethan zest for living, the last exemplar of that essentially pagan vigor which was destroyed by the wave of puritanism from which we have not yet recovered. Without any disposition to apologize for the Puritan, one may wonder if that is entirely fair, and suggest instead that Elizabethan paganism was destroying itself from within. The increasingly somber violence of the Jacobean playwrights is hardly to be explained in terms of that puritan thought to which the Jacobean dramatists paid so little attention. Oddly enough, Mr. Palmer does not point out that the theme of "Volpone" is the theme used by Marlowe a generation before when in three separate plays he studied some vice which had been carried to such perfect realization of itself as to become magnificent. From the very beginning, in other words, the Elizabethan writer had been tempted to imitate the Italians of the Renaissance in their tendency to find *virtu* the justification of character, and like the Italians he could not forever escape the conclusion to which that tendency leads. The Jacobean drama degenerated because its authors had come up against a moral dilemma which they could not solve; because if strength was the ultimate criterion, and strength could not be distinguished from violence, then the best men might be the worst and anarchy was come again. Jonson believed himself a moralist on the classical model, but "Volpone" is the proof that he could not escape the difficulty which the Puritans were to solve in their own unintelligent way. It exhibits him face to face with a principle of evil which he had no way of exorcising and before which he was compelled to stand in a half-admiring, half-terrified amazement.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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The Writer in Soviet Russia

Artists in Uniform. A Study of Literature and Bureaucratism. By Max Eastman. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

MAX EASTMAN is "on the side of the Soviets and of the proletarian class struggle," but he does not believe that "the world can be saved by Soviet ballyhoo." By Soviet ballyhoo he means the acceptance of an officially interpreted Communist dogma and the suppression of those who depart from it. The primary purpose of the present book is to exhibit Soviet ballyhoo in action, to show how it has "functioned in art and letters."

Mr. Eastman shows us how it functions by getting down to cases. He tells the story of Yessenin's suicide, of the "framing" of Zamyatin, of Romanov's recantation, of the humiliation of Boris Pilnyak, of Polonsky's persecution, of Maikovsky's suicide, and so on. He is aware that there has been much good writing in Russia during the Stalin regime, but the point is not whether the writers who voluntarily accept the official dogma and program are free, but whether those who venture to reject it are free; and Mr. Eastman has no difficulty in demonstrating that a great number of the ablest Russian writers have found, sooner or later, that they must either recant or run away or end their lives with a pistol or their days in Siberia. No doubt there are still many liberals in this country who find comfort in believing that the suppression of RAPP in 1932 has put an end to all that. Mr. Eastman assures us that it is not so. "RAPP is no more," true enough; but Stalin and his uniforms for writers are still very much there. The essence of Soviet ballyhoo, so far as art and letters are concerned, is expressed in the slogans of the Artists' International. "Art renounces individualism. Art is to be collectivized. Art is to be systematized. Art is to be organized. Art is to be disciplined. Art is to be created under the careful yet firm guidance of a political party. Art is to be wielded as a weapon." In other words, art is to commit suicide at the behest of propaganda.

Having with accustomed brilliance told the "sad story of the regimentation of the creative spirit," Mr. Eastman asks why the Soviet government should have made a mistake so obviously fatal. The answer is that Stalin and his supporters, unlike Lenin, have swallowed whole the outmoded Marxian philosophy. The trouble with Marxian philosophy is that "it is 'philosophy' in the very sense that Marx himself denounced philosophy." Far from abandoning "all philosophy" for science, Marx did not even abandon Hegel's philosophy. He merely replaced Hegel's World Spirit with a World Robot who performs to a different purpose, and without demanding social attentions, all the work which the World Spirit was employed to perform.

This, then, is the fatal error—to fall back upon a theological method of saving the world, to relieve ourselves of the trouble of taking thought by relying upon the Marxian World Robot, not ourselves, to add a cubit to our stature. The Marxian doctrine and the proletarian struggle (purpose), thus happily identified, are "read into the objective development of reality," the convenient result of which is that the function of thought may be limited to reconciling experience with the doctrine, and all thought which does not serve this end may be regarded as not "of the essence of reality" and therefore not part of true knowledge: so that to deny expression to such thought is not to obscure but to clarify the truth. Well, but where are we? Are we discussing the Bolsheviks or the Church Fathers? It doesn't really matter, since their ideology is the same; and that is why, in reading Bolshevik political controversies, one sniffs again the pungent musty atmosphere of long-buried disputes over the Semi-Pelagian and other Christian heresies. Read again the controversy that led to the banishment of Trotzky. To a critical mind the only point of interest is that the truth of Trotzky's ideas or the wisdom of his program was never for a moment recognized as the issue. The issue was the same as that at the famous Diet of Worms. It was this: Had Comrade Trotzky so far departed from the "Lenin line" as to have placed himself in an "ideological" rather than merely in a "programmatical" opposition? The decision was that he had, and he was therefore exiled. But it would be a profound mistake to suppose that the exile was effected by Stalin. The action of Trotzky and the action of Stalin were "Identical Opposites" which the Dialectic Materialism must needs reconcile in a "Higher Synthesis," and in this instance the reconciliation effected by the Dialectic took the form of exiling Trotzky. Dialectic Materialism, like Divine Providence, for which it is but another name, often moves in mysterious ways its wonders to perform. Mysterious perhaps, but by no means new: effecting the Higher Synthesis of Identical Opposites by knocking one of them on the head is a method with which the world has been long familiar.

Mr. Eastman does not think that "the world can be saved" (the revolution accomplished? the classless society established?) by this Soviet ballyhoo. Nevertheless, if I understand him, he does think it can be saved—by science or scientific method; and he thinks the vital question for this country is "whether Americans are going to conduct their revolutionary efforts in the name of science, or are going to swallow down" the Marxian "romantic philosophy"—the Stalin Soviet ballyhoo.

Well, I have no yen for ballyhoo, nor any aversion to scientific method. But I can see that each has its uses, and that whether the one or the other is more useful for saving the world depends on what is meant by that somewhat romantic theological phrase. Scientific method is an admirable instrument for those who wish to acquire exact knowledge of the world, especially the physical world, and care very little, or nothing, about changing it. If one does wish to change the physical world—for example, make water run up hill—one will find scientific method more useful than ballyhoo. But in one respect the problem of changing the physical world differs profoundly from the problem of changing the social world: the physical world is indifferent to changes proposed or made, the social world is very much interested. Mr. Eastman knows this, without, I think, sufficiently allowing for it. "Social science," he says, "when it is applied in action on a grand scale, does differ from physical or mechanical . . . engineering in that the scientists are themselves part of the material they work with, and *what they think about the experiments may affect the results.*" This is putting it mildly. The result of any social experiment not only *may* but *must* be affected, not only by what the social scientists (revolutionary leaders) think about it, but still more by what the "material they work with" (the people) think about it.

The distinction is vital, and will remain so until the people are all capable of taking a detached, scientific view of their social relations. They will run up hill only if persuaded or forced to do so. The Bolshevik "social scientists," like all political leaders with a program of action to be realized, have found that force works best when supported by the right kind of ballyhoo (ideology), and that the ballyhoo works best when it announces with conviction that the country at the top of the hill is flowing with milk and honey. In fact it may or may not be flowing with milk and money, and the "social scientist" who abandoned political for scientific methods would have to induce the people to make the steep ascent with no better assurance than that they were engaged in a social experiment designed to advance the cause of truth by testing a social hypothesis which might turn out to have been invalid. I suspect that to the great majority this formulation of the problem would be the wettest kind of ballyhoo yet discovered.

I do not think the Communist revolution, in any of its

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various formulations, is likely to be advanced by abandoning ballyhoo for scientific knowledge. Nevertheless, I delight in Mr. Eastman's exposure of the ballyhoo, partly because he does such an honest good job of it, chiefly because I am convinced that man cannot better his lot in the long run by suppressing factual knowledge and critical intelligence in favor of any species of wish-fulfilling dogma. CARL BECKER

Richard Aldington

The Poems of Richard Aldington. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

MR. ALDINGTON is a type of the poet—in intention, in attitude toward life and toward past literature, in vocabulary, in the tone of his thinking, and in his wilful assertion of personal inspiration. But he is, on the whole, not an example: his work is not poetry of a high order. The best evidence for this statement is that his poetry loses rather than gains when read all at one time, as this collection invites us to read it. There is no single poem in the volume which persuades us to remember it complete, though there are many lines, especially beginning lines, which stick in the mind because of the boldness of statement or the lift of the rhythm. That is to say, while he presents us with a fund of substance and a talent for feeling, Mr. Aldington lacks either the genius or the arduous will for persistent execution; he lacks those elements of composition and of style which persuade us finally of a poem's existence.

This failure may be fundamental, the result of a radical defect of talent, or it may have an origin at least partly historical. Mr. Aldington began publishing with the imagist group of 1912, and that—as it has turned out for everyone in the group—was a heavy weight to bear. The excitement of a fresh, superficial view coupled with an easy, not to say laxative, method of writing produced or encouraged a good many rather fluid talents to whom the finished, the solid, the mature seemed stale. Success was accidental and fragmentary, and no poet can expect a lifetime of accidents unless the life is short.

However it may have been intended and whatever benefit of freshness verse first felt, the final effect of imagism was to prevent poets from doing the work necessary to complete their poems. And by completion I do not mean detailed adherence to any doctrine of how a poem should go, or subscription to any school of sensibility, which would tend to prevent poems from completion by the limitation of form and the distortion of particular insight. I mean, on the contrary, that the heirs of imagism, by asserting a false freedom of form and the independent validity of private experience however expressed, have been unable either to sustain a tone or explore a subject in terms the reader can accept.

Eliot and Pound deliberately obstruct by obscurity of reference the reader's view of the contents of their more important poems and accomplish their perversity with great clarity and beauty of language. Mr. Aldington, on the contrary, has not advanced that far in the attempt to make verse either difficult or private. You do not need, in reading him, either a specially designed encyclopedia or a faculty for telepathy. His subject matter is conventionally presented, his allusions may be found in a small classical dictionary, and he uses words in their normal connotations. His poems, however, appear with what Henry James called "the terrible fluidity" of self-revelation. Thus, like Eliot and Pound on one side, he sees neither the necessity nor the convenience of sustained tone and the dramatic presentation of material, and like Cummings on the other side, he uses words as he finds them without much effort to particularize them in the poems. Hence his rhythms break down as soon as they are established, his arrangements lack inevitability, and his language tends to be slovenly and therefore while intelligible cannot certify its meaning.

Perhaps nothing more orderly, especially in the realm of poetry and feeling—nothing less fragmentary, nothing less heretical—could have been expected of a generation whose young manhood was interrupted by the war and demolished by the peace, and whose imagination was thus driven by the need of exile or escape from the dreadful order that was laid everywhere upon it. We have Mr. Aldington's war poems and particularly his poem called Exile positively to suggest as much, and we have the later poems of the Eaten Heart Group and the new poems at the end of the book to demonstrate it negatively. The two longish poems, A Fool i' the Forest and A Dream in the Luxembourg, are so to speak interludes between the positive and negative poles, but rather resemble in their diffuseness and excessive romantic bitterness "The Death of a Hero" and "The Colonel's Daughter" than the poems. It was the war perhaps and what came after it that made Mr. Aldington in every case let himself go from a summit of emotion, of recognition, or of disillusionment. But when you let yourself go you do not often make great poetry, because without a form to mold you and a discipline to direct you, you cannot possibly know where to stop, know what has been presented specifically and what has been merely stated, what has come out good and what bad; you can, in fact, only push on to the corollary and let yourself run down.

That is what Mr. Aldington does. Experience catches him by the throat or beats him in the face, and he answers back as vigorously as he can. His subjects are war and love and hypocrisy. His weapons are sharp statement, bold image, snatches of masculine rhythm, and the catch-as-catch-can of tumultuous feeling. His retreat is into Greek poetry or the English land. He has a stubborn but crotchety honesty without ever the persuasion of tact, and he has an intense personal bitterness that never bothers with the only secure foundation for bitterness, which is irony. His poems make powerful personal documents of a life, but they do not often do the necessary work to make them powerful poetry. The success of many fragments only adumbrates the size of his failure. Reading him we may fortify the more honorable of our prejudices, but nothing is brought to the objective strength of that which can be contemplated all round. R. P. BLACKMUR

An Artist's Childhood

Memories of My Childhood. By Selma Lagerlöf. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

THIS second volume of Selma Lagerlöf's autobiography, like the first, has the charm of fine writing. And again the author's creative imagination so controls the material that we see her childhood as it must have been. There is no hint of adult revaluation of childhood experience, no overstressing, as so frequently happens when an adult attempts to tell his or her own story, of the pains or joys or even of the awarenesses of childhood. Selma lives through the years from her tenth to her fifteenth year a little lame girl, but not too lame for physical activities and never burdened with pity—exactly as she must have lived them. Miss Lagerlöf would seem to believe—and very probably she is right—that the normal childhood is a slow growth in sensibility, not days of morbid grief or excessive joy, but days of comfortable growth toward understanding. She does not stress the dreaming of childhood in contrast with the reality, but indicates how these blend. She understands the drama of secret adventures and of little embarrassments, but most of all she understands the child's pro-

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gressive adjustments to the adult world, her dreaming as a part of quiet learning.

This volume opens with the return of Selma from an orthopedic institute to live as usual at Marbacka under the instruction of the new and completely trusted young governess, Aline. A shadow settles over the home when the father is taken ill and slowly grows weaker. But neither Selma nor the other children lose too abruptly their normal sunshine. Selma reads the Bible from cover to cover, though she is teased for this, certain that by so doing she will aid her father's recovery. The father, evidently a little afraid of religious emotion for his children, is somewhat alarmed, but the mother persuades him to leave his daughter alone. Meantime the children put on plays, go out to see the Easter witch who, usually of straw, once turns out to be their nurse. They visit relatives and enlarge their knowledge of places. Selma, frightened by ghost stories, puts herself to the task of overcoming fear. The war going on between Germany and France is felt only through persons who insist on talking of war. Aline, the governess, falls unhappily into love, then happily out, and into marriage. The dressmaker comes in the spring and fall to make new dresses for all the children. And always the children participate in the general family life. They make calls with their mother and begin to understand social distinctions. They are living as country gentry, in a gentle community. There is nothing to grieve or shock them. Selma, obviously the most sensitive child in the family, must take in, as experience, whatever she can through her own sensitivity with no unusual attention paid her. Her parents do not treat her as if she were different from the others. Much of the interest in reading of her charming, quaint childhood lies, nevertheless, in observing the artist's awakening. And how complete a knowledge of human character one can see her acquiring in this small but intimate society where children are taught by being accepted as important members of a group, to be treated and talked to with complete honesty. The Lagerlöf family are all fairly intelligent and frankly emotional. They are all completely normal though not dull people. Such a family, such a community life, could be, perhaps, the best background for a child learning to be a writer by observing intuitively the little actions of people, their brief expressions, and by listening to thoughtful conclusions from adults who pondered about life.

Humor and pathos in everyday affairs, routine lightened by the observance of folk rituals and activities—this was living. Miss Lagerlöf has caught it all, seen herself and her family in fine perspective and with a clear charm of spirit. And she looks back sixty-odd years without bitterness or even nostalgia.

EDA LOU WALTON

A Novel of Distinction

Bitter Bread. By Nicolai Gubsky. Henry Holt and Company. $2.

HERE is a novel which has got but scant attention from the American press and the American reader. It is written by an unknown Russian living in England. It concerns the battle for existence waged by two exiled Russians in the north of England. The obscurity of the author and the remoteness of the problem have doubtless militated against its popularity. Nevertheless, "Bitter Bread" deserved a more cordial reception. It is not original in manner or matter: it is written in the well-worn tradition of the English novel, and it tells a hackneyed tale of unemployment, dwindling bank balances, and spiritual maladjustment to modern society. Yet in spite of this it is something definitely new, for it bears the mark of an eccentric mind, a mind delicately balanced, questioning, acute, humorous. It lacks the violence and passion of other "depression" novels, but it is, perhaps, the more depressing for being careful, reasoned, and unimpassioned.

The story begins when Goring, husband to Zeena and father of two children, loses his job as translator in a large commercial firm. He does not go under all at once. Small jobs, less and less remunerative, feed the body, and friends, gradually less sympathetic, feed the soul. For two years he fights with the world to wrest peace and sustenance from it, regarding his troubles as a problem which has been given him to solve. At last his destitution and his spiritual emptiness force him to find a solution. He, a former aristocrat, half-English, determines to return to Russia to work for the future. It is a painful solution, since it involves his leaving Zeena, who hates the Bolsheviks with embittered, aristocratic passion. Still, he wrenches himself away, only to find himself barred from the Soviet Union by a stupid, suspicious bureaucracy, which regards him as a counter-revolutionary spy. He commits suicide.

While the story is as sad as you could wish, it is not so grim as the summary of the plot would suggest. Throughout its course it is ornamented with wit, philosophy, and sound Russian dialectics, and illuminated with the highest kind of mysticism. It is, altogether, a novel of distinction, born, unluckily, to blush unseen.

MARY MCCARTHY

Handbook of Dictatorships

New Governments in Europe. By the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association. Edited by Raymond Leslie Buell. Thomas Nelson and Sons. $2.50.

THIS up-to-date work, compiled by the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association and edited by its president, contains the most comprehensive and reliable description yet given in a single volume of new social trends and new forms of government in Italy, Russia, Germany, Spain, and the Baltic States. No student of international politics and the social process should miss this book with its unusual amount of authoritative information and its orderly presentation of complex developments.

The exact history of the various European dictatorships, the social and political forces that produced them, the methods by which they were brought about, as well as the debit and credit sides of their administrative records up to the beginning of 1934, are set forth in a manner which, though restrained and academic in tone, makes the book a fascinating and dramatic record of post-war political developments in Europe.

In the section on Italy a brief account of Italy's political life from 1861 till 1919 is followed by a brief interpretation of the theory of fascism and a short description of the history and composition of the Fascist Party of Italy. We also find a searching and concise analysis of the political structure of the fascist state, with its political history and adminstrative record, complemented by an interesting account of the early history of fascist syndicalism and a thorough discussion of the corporate system. There is also a short description of the passive and active resistance against fascism in Italy and other countries. The Nazi German and Soviet Russian developments are handled in the same concise way. In both cases an excellent analysis of the political, social, and historical circumstances that conditioned the particular development is followed by a history of the movement and an account of the political theories upon which its organization was based. This is complemented by an informative account of the governmental record of the system.

Not only does the whole work demonstrate the trend toward dictatorships, but the assembled facts make it abundantly clear that, ideologically speaking, fascist dictatorships are dicta-

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torships of defense, erected for the purpose of defending and helping to perpetuate a social and economic system, while the communist dictatorship, again ideologically speaking, is aggressive and attempts to bridge the colossal gulf between the industrial scientific revolution already accomplished by humanity and its retarded social and political evolution.

According to Spengler we are witnessing the return of the Caesars and are entering upon the age of the Leaders. This record of facts makes it clear, however, that the Hitlers and Mussolinis, far from being leaders, are carried to power on waves of mass emotion which has been effectively exploited by skilful propaganda and which springs from the spiritual and intellectual emptiness of the people, who see in these so-called leaders the symbolic expression of their confused desires.

JOHANNES STEEL

Government in Business

TNT. These National Tax Eaters. By T. Swann Harding. Ray Long and Richard R. Smith. $2.75.

T. SWANN HARDING, who works by day as a chemist in the Department of Agriculture and by night writes articles and books about advertising, about the imbecilities and greeds of business men, and about the relative competence and probity of government employees, has done his best job to date in this book. He has demonstrated pretty conclusively that over a wide range of essential services you and I get a better dollar's worth out of tax money spent in our behalf by the government than the average dollar's worth of products and services obtainable in the market-place.

It is a highly important demonstration to make at this time. One could have wished that Mr. Harding's right hand had been subsidized, by tax money or otherwise, so that he could have devoted his days to this major task, organized it, and given us a more orderly and concise presentation. The only charts and tables are those prepared by Mr. Harding's opponents, the National Manufacturers' Association and the National Committee for Economy in Government. If one may venture to suggest Mr. Harding's next job, he would do well to take a year off and meet the enemy, table for table and chart for chart, in his next book. Here are a few of the innumerable facts, most of them highly important, which congest Mr. Harding's 381 pages: In 1931 the Post Office deficit of $146,000,000 was caused not by governmental inefficiency but by a $97,000,000 subsidy to newspapers and periodicals, a $17,000,000 air-mail subsidy, a $19,000,000 oceanic-mail subsidy, and the expenditure of $12,000,000 for franking and other government postage. First-class mail showed a profit of $47,000,000, which means, to put it baldly, that every time you and I mail a letter we help to subsidize Curtis, Crowell, Hearst, and McFadden.

The very business men who yell loudest about government extravagance are the most eager to exploit for their own profit the scientific work of government bureaus, and to denounce any attempt to let the general public benefit, as, for example, through government grading of staple products or the setting up of a Department of the Consumer, as proposed by F. J. Schlink. (Incidentally, Mr. Harding vigorously defends the Food and Drug Administration against the attack of Schlink and Kallett in "100,000,000 Guinea Pigs.")

Government, says Mr. Harding, is inefficient and wasteful when corrupted by the greed and incompetence of business; the answer therefore is not that government should get out of business, but that business should get off government's neck. The thesis is sound as far as it goes, and Mr. Harding's documentation is enormous—if it had only been indexed!

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Shorter Notices

A History of American Graphic Humor. By William Murrell. With an Introduction by Chistopher Morley. Whitney Museum of Art. $5.

Christopher Morley in his introduction to this book says it is "almost a History of Ill-Humor." American pen pamphleteers, Morley feels, are bitter, morose, and ferocious. However, Morley is easily wounded, for in comparison with French, German, or Spanish drawings of the same sort ours are boyish, timid, frolicsome,, occasionally bluntly cruel, like a practical joke. The "History" begins with Paul Revere and ends with the Civil War. It is a competent, scholarly book and the pictures are interesting as historical footnotes, but not much more. Murrell says that on the whole American graphic art has been pedestrian, with a few brilliant exceptions, and this is a fair estimate on the basis of the pictures he publishes, presumably chosen from the best. The author does not advance any reasons for this surprising and disappointing fact. Political and social art feeds on social struggle, and our history is full of it, but our artists have not been interested except in the Civil War period, when most of Murrell's "brilliant exceptions" occur. It is true that even now our artists tend to run from current realities; until very recently they avoided even the American scene. Americans have the feeling that the artist who touches politics is no artist. A field which necessarily combines the two, as does caricature and satire, would therefore attract a minority only. That may be why our percentage of really great graphic humor and ill-humor is still so low.

Walt Whitman in England. By Harold Blodgett. Cornell University Press. $2.50.

Mr. Blodgett furnishes a great deal of precise information about the growth of Whitman's reputation in England, a subject which hitherto, even in the best books about Whitman, has been spotty when it has not been vague. There are separate chapters on Rossetti, Dowden, Symonds, Buchanan, Anne Gilchrist, Swinburne, and Tennyson, as well as chapters of narrative and summary—the latter, unfortunately, marred by touches of that piety which consists in hailing every bit of praise as a syllable in the long scroll of truth concerning Whitman. The truth has even yet to be established. Meanwhile, here is all we shall ever need to know about what Englishmen to date have thought it was.

Foundations for the World's New Age of Plenty. By Fred Henderson. The John Day Company. $1.

If we look ruefully at a social situation long enough, certain realizations are apt to be pressed into the wits of the dullest of us. And these popular recognitions do not take the form of cleverly devised expedients of escape, but are rather vaguely defined but tolerably fundamental convictions. The England of a century ago gazed for years at the child factory worker before the understanding came that he or she was not making a free contract, and that the righteous expression of Manchester laissez faire was an appalling human lie. Nor is popular disillusionment the less portentous because it coincides in time with official sanction. Slavery in America was dead at the moment Lincoln solemnly pledged himself not to interfere with the institution. In the present depression the public has become increasingly aware of the absurdity of poverty in the midst of plenty. Turn your eyes from the confronting scene, and this is the after-image which remains. Mr. Henderson supplies, briefly and neatly, a rationale for the accumulating dissatisfaction with a world impotent despite abundant means at its disposal. He distinguishes between the fiction of money on the one hand and

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the fact of goods on the other. A passenger fell overboard from a Mississippi steamboat. Thrashing around, he was nearly strangled, when he caught the shout of the captain, "Stand up!" and found himself in four feet of water. So Henderson shows that the economic realities are labor applied to nature and resulting in consumption, while the price and credit system is merely an awkwardly devised accountancy. He decries and makes ridiculous the current monetary sleight of hand. It is as unavailing, he says, as straightening a deformed man by changing the shape of his shadow.

Films

Journey to the End

BECAUSE the actualities of the contemporary world are what they are, exceeding the farthest reaches of the dramatic fancy, a half-hour at one of the newsreel theaters these days is likely to provide a more complete catharsis than anything devised by the mind or imagination of Hollywood. The catharsis is achieved by the Elizabethan rather than the Greek mode, of course, for there are usually occasional rifts of the merely humorous or grotesque in the rapidly unrolling mist of terror. At the Embassy on Broadway one will see wholesale peasant grief in a Jugoslavian village after an explosion in a government mine, followed almost instantly by a slugging match between Roughhouse Riley and one of his colleagues on the West Coast. Communist May Day demonstrations in Paris, with police and workers engaged in a violent scramble, dissolve into a close-up of a spite fence erected by an Italian somewhere in this country in revenge for a neighbor's insult. So striking are some of these contrasts, in fact, that one can scarcely believe that they are unintentionally achieved. Surely there is an indication of a striving for some kind of effect in the following: the return to Austria of the Hapsburg Archduke Anton and his wife Ileana, surrounded by incense-swinging ecclesiastics and worshipful villagers; the winter carnival in Moscow—serried thousands of young athletes, male and female, moving along on skis or skating in circles to the admiration of other thousands of smiling, approving, and completely preoccupied spectators; a society racetrack in the South, with a close-up of two feverishly excited and rather dissipated-looking young people, one of whom is identified as the recent heir to one of the largest tobacco fortunes in America. Here everything depends, of course, on the recognition of items of contrast not easily translatable in other terms; between the expressions on the faces of the young men and women of the Red Square and the expressions on the faces of the Archduke Anton and the young tobacco prince are differences that lie too deep for words. Such conscious or unconscious effects of montage, however, do not constitute the sole interest; there are also the discordances within the single frame. Samuel Insull reads a little speech calculated to melt the hearts of all self-made Americans, but something in the eyes cancels out the whole effect. A close-up of Hitler addressing the two million gathered in the Tempelhof field outside Berlin brings out features of that leader's oratorical technique which should never have been revealed to the foreign eye. And then there is in the newsreel at the Embassy a close-action sequence which alone makes this half-hour journey to the end of the night an experience that causes all recent cinema experiences to fade by comparison. A side street in Havana jammed with groups of excited students protesting against the government's May Day policy; a sudden rattle of machine-gun fire; the surprised groups scurrying in every direction, the wounded being carried off to shelter, the dead lying sprawled on the pavement. It is with relief that one closes one's eyes for a moment before reopening them to see the United States air-mail service being turned over again to private companies.

"Marionettes" (Acme) marks the unexpected return of the Soviet cinema to the satirical exposé of developments in the bourgeois countries. It is an amusing, ingenious, and thoroughly effective bit of political satire, and on a level of sophistication that is rarely reached by the Soviet directors. But its director happens to be the same Protosanov whose use of the chorus for mock-heroic effects, stylization of gesture and dialogue, and artificial tempo were appropriated by that most sophisticated of French directors—René Clair. The essential difference between this film and "Le Million" is one of concentration: the satire in the French picture played over so many objects that it tended to lapse into diffuse geniality. Here there is no doubt about the object, and the satire is never genial.

WILLIAM TROY

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